

**ADVOCACY AND WOMEN'S RIGHTS IN LAGOS AND OGUN STATES,
NIGERIA (1999-2015)**

BY

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Matriculation Number: 06AH03802

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**A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE SCHOOL OF POSTGRADUATE
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DEVELOPMENT STUDIES, COVENANT UNIVERSITY**

OCTOBER, 2018

ACCEPTANCE

This is to attest that this thesis is accepted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in International Relations in the Department of Political Science and International Relations, College of Leadership Development Studies, Covenant University, Ota

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declare that this research work was conducted by me under the supervision of Dr. Matthew Egharevba, Department of Sociology and Dr. Oluyemi Fayomi Department of Political Science and International Relations, Covenant University, Ota, Ogun State. I attest that the thesis has not been presented either wholly or partly for the award of any degree elsewhere. All sources of data and scholarly information used in this thesis were duly acknowledged.

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CERTIFICATION

We certify that the thesis titled “Advocacy and Women’s Rights in Lagos and Ogun States, Nigeria (1999-2015)” is an original work carried out by **POPOOLA, ROSEMARY OYINLOLA (06AH03802)**, in the Department of Political Science and International Relations, College of Leadership Development Studies, Covenant University, Ota, Ogun State, Nigeria, under the supervision of Dr. Matthew Egharevba and Dr. Oluyemi Fayomi. We have examined the work and found it acceptable for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in International Relations.

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DEDICATION

This work is first and foremost dedicated to God who is the “Essence and the Centre” of my life. Secondly, the thesis is dedicated to the memory of my late father, Pa Remilekun Johnson Popoola, and late Prophetess (Mrs.) Esther Abolade Popoola (nee Abimbola) who saw potentials and a future in me that have materialized though they are not physically present to witness it. Finally, the work is dedicated to my family members that have slept in Christ, who I always imagine standing among the cloud of witnesses in Heaven cheering me on. Your memory is a blessing to me.

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ABBREVIATIONS

APRRW: African Protocol on People's Rights and the Rights of Women

AU: African Union

BINGO: Business-Friendly NGOs

BLP: Better life for Rural Women Programme

BPFA: Beijing Platform for Action

CEDAW: Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women

CSO: Civil Society Organizations

DONGO: Donor Organized NGO

ECOSOC: Economic, Cultural and Social

ENGO: Environmental NGO,

FSP: Family Support Programme

GAD: Gender and Development

GDP: Gross Domestic Product

GID: Gender in Development

GONGOs: Government Operated NGOs

GSO: Grassroots Support Organization

ICCPR: International Convention on Civil and Political Rights

ICESC: International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural rights

ICT: Information Communication Technology

ICT: Information Communication Technology

INGO: Intergovernmental NGOs;

ISO: International Organization for Standardization

LWL: Lagos Women's League

LWL: Lagos Women's League

MANGO: Market Advocacy Organization

MDGs: Millennium Development Goals.

NEPAD: New Partnership for African Development
NCWS: National Council of Women's Societies
NGOs: Non-Governmental Organizations
NGP: National Gender Policy
NNGO: Northern NGOs
NWP: Nigerian Women's Party
QUANGOs: Quasi-Autonomous Non-Governmental Organizations.
SERAC: Social and Economic Rights Action
SNGOs: Southern NGOs
TANGO: Technical Assistance NGO
UDHR: Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UNDP: United Nations Development Programme
WAD: Women and Development
WCPR: Women's Civil and Political Rights,
WID: Women in Development
WRAPA: Women's Right Advancement and Protection Alternative

ABSTRACT

The need to promote and protect women's rights has occupied the frontline of global development agenda for over four decades. From the Millennium Development Goals (SDGs) to the ongoing Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), the gender question and its intersection with women's rights have been linked with the attainment of sustainable development around the world. Despite the use of varied unilateral and multilateral advocacy tools by state and non-state actors in addressing the question of women's rights over the years, violation of women's rights is still on the increase. In Nigeria, civil and political rights of women are underrepresented in governance and leadership position. Similarly, economic and socio-cultural rights of women remain deplorable due to the consequences of urban renewal efforts, discriminatory cultural beliefs, and gender biased laws (for example section 353 and 360 of the Criminal Code). This study, relying on feminist theoretical framework, which emphasizes the necessity of respect and protection of women as vulnerable, marginalized, and oppressed group, examines the effectiveness or otherwise of selected advocacy tools (namely E-advocacy, celebrity advocacy, non-profit and policy advocacy) in the promotion and protection of women's Civil and Political Rights (CPR), and Economic, Cultural and Social (ECOSOC) rights in Lagos and Ogun States Nigeria, between 1999 and 2015. The study employed a mixed method design which include 614 structured questionnaire, 5 Focus Group Discussion (FGD), and 15 interviews to investigate the effectiveness of these advocacy tools. The formulated hypotheses was tested using logistic correlation, cross tabulation, and chi-square, while the qualitative data gathered from interview and FGD sessions were transcribed and subjected to thematic analysis and narrative techniques. The research findings revealed that a critical and creative engagement of the four advocacy tools selected for the study could be useful in promoting women's rights but not necessarily in enforcing protection. This was corroborated by empirical data gleaned from the use of primary sources adopted above. The challenges of advocacy in protecting women's rights amongst others was due to discriminatory nature of the tripartite legal system in Nigeria, overriding influence of religion and patriarchy, inability to domesticate international legal frameworks well as the lack of political will to make gender question a national priority. The study further showed that most respondents and key informants considered E-advocacy as the most viable tool for promoting women's rights although the effectiveness of e-advocacy could be limited by issues of access, availability and affordability. The study recommends amongst others that E- advocacy as well as other advocacy tools studied, all of which constitute promotional tools should be complemented with the instrument of protection such as strengthening the democratic institution (i.e judiciary, executive,) with capacity and modern technological tool to promote and enforce women's rights, repeal discriminatory laws and code, and empower the law enforcement agencies to deliver on their mandate of protecting women's rights in all its ramifications.

Keyword: Advocacy, gender, Lagos State, Ogun State, sustainable development, women's rights,

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

In Africa in general, and Nigeria in particular, the history of women's rights advocacy can be traced to the varying perspective of scholars on the subject. Existing literature argued that women's advocacy in Nigeria emerged as a counter discourse against the marginalization of women in the history of state and empire building, the need to challenge the widespread notion that all women of the world share the same experience of patriarchal exploitation and the attempt to prevent the study of African women strictly through the lens of Western historical formation (Aderinto, 2012). Specifically, the pioneering scholarship of Bolanle Awe (1977;1992) Nina Mba (1982), Denzer (1994), whom Aderinto and Osifodunrin (2012) classified as second waves intellectuals and historians, have played a significant role in bringing to the forefront, the heroic accomplishment of women in the past (pre-colonial) and the realities of their socio-economic and political experiences in the colonial and post-colonial era.

Women's rights advocacy particularly gathered momentum in the United States and Europe in the 1960s due to several reasons. Firstly, the socio-economic and political conditions of women were seriously undermined and secondly, the rising momentum of feminist movements in North America and Europe. In the United States for instance, all through the 1960s to 1970s, women could not get credit cards without their husbands' consent; they could not serve on juries and would not be admitted into many Ivy League universities. They earned less than their male counterparts in the workplace for the same job and had limited control over their reproductive health as it was illegal to get birth control pills and other sexual rights accoutrement (McLaughlin, 2014).

Be that as it may, African women have always mobilized along gender lines at the level of the community, in work groups, self-help groups, credit associations and rural cooperatives (Steady, 2002).The activism of women and that of women's organizations in Nigeria which began in the 1920s through the 1940s—from the women's war of 1929 (popularly referred to as the Aba women's riot), the Abeokuta women's riots of 1947 (famously called Egba women riot), to the activism of elite Lagos women and their organizations, particularly those of Alimotu Pelewura (Lagos Market women), Oyinkan Morenike Abayomi, Nigerian Women's Party, (NWP), Madam

Tinubu and Charlotte Olajumoke Obasa (Lagos Women's League (LWL) can be described as precursors of the "feminist movement in Nigeria" (Aderinto, 2010).

However, it can be argued that women's rights activism gained prominence in Nigeria during the colonial era as women reacted against British misogynistic policies (forced taxation, exclusion from governance process and non-enlistment into the police force) and African male chauvinistic tendencies that undermined the dignity and the rights of women (Aderinto, 2015). Thus, it is these socio-economic realities of discrimination and marginalization coupled with the rising feminist movements in Africa and other parts of the globe that brought women's rights issues to the forefront of global agenda, necessitating the need for global action to address women's issue.

Similarly, stakeholders in women's rights advocacy have engaged numerous types of advocacy ranging from policy, media, celebrities to literary and E-advocacy amongst others in the promotion and protection of women's rights over the years. More so, the United Nations' General Assembly declared the year 1975 as the International Women's Year and also organized the first World conference for women same year in Mexico. Also, it declared the years 1976-1985 as the UN Decade for Women and established a Voluntary Fund for the said decade. Since then, the UN has engaged several advocacy tools to advance the rights of women across various spectrum; it has also held conferences and developed numerous frameworks or policies in response to the global outcry on women's rights. Such frameworks include the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human rights (UDHR), the 1976 International Covention on Economic, Social and Cultural rights (ICESC), the International Convention on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR, 1976) and the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW, 1981), all of which stressed the equality of all.

Besides, the UN has held four world conferences in Copenhagen (1980), Nairobi (1985) Vienna (1993), and Beijing (1995) on women's rights and related issues. Likewise, it established the UN women in July 2010 to focus primarily on gender equality and women empowerment. At the regional level, inter-governmental organizations such as the European Union and African Union have made significant efforts at promoting and protecting women's rights. For instance, in Africa, there exist the Protocols to the African Charter on Human and People's Rights (2005) and the African Union Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality (2004) (Adefi and Aladi, 2012; Oni and Segun 2012; Nnadi, 2012).

At the national level, Nigeria has made efforts to promote women's rights. Besides, ratifying the Convention on the Elimination of All forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) in 1989, the country also developed a National Policy on Women in 2000 and later replaced it with the National Policy on Gender Equality in 2007 which took effect in August 2008 (Kura and Yero, 2013). The aim of the National Gender Policy amongst others was to give women 35 percent affirmative actions at state and federal levels. Similarly, successive administrations in Nigeria have responded positively towards the gender question in diverse ways. These responses include amongst others the creation of a Federal Ministry of Women Affairs and its affiliated agency and the National Council of Women's Societies (NCWS), which provide supplementary and statutory avenues for the promotion and protection of women issues and the advancement of women's roles in national development (Ngara and Ayabam, 2013).

Since the 1980s, various pet projects have been galvanized by wives of successive Heads of State and Presidents of Nigeria to promote women's rights using the office of the first lady. These include Mrs. Maryam Babangida's 'Better life for Rural Women Programme' (BLP); Mrs. Maryam Abacha's Family Support Programme (FSP) between 1994-1998; Mrs. Titi Abubakar Women's Rights Advancement and Protection Alternative (WRAPA) and Mrs. Stella Obasanjo's Childcare Trust (CCT) amongst others. These Nigerian first ladies pet projects or initiatives covered varying issues ranging from the fight against HIV/AIDS, maternal and child health, to promoting of women empowerment and peace in major conflict-ridden regions of Africa (Bawa, 2014). Similarly, some Non-Government Organizations (NGOs) have also made increasing efforts towards the promotion and protection of women's rights; celebrities and their massive followership on different social media platforms have promoted women's rights, while e-advocates and enthusiasts have used major Information Communication Technologies (ICTs) to create awareness on the rights of women and girls.

In the South-West and specifically in Lagos and Ogun States adopted for this study, although women's rights advocacy has assumed another dimension since 1999 when the fourth republic began, the status of women's rights remains low. With regard to women's civil and political rights, the two states like others in Nigeria are yet to have female governors; the states' legislative arms of government remain male dominated and successive cabinets have fewer women representation. For instance, in Lagos State between 1999 and 2003, in the forty-member State House of Assembly, there were only three women. Also, of the twenty-four-member State Executive Council, there were only four women. (Oni, 2012). There was no female chairperson out of the twenty Local Government Chairmen (LGC) and there were only six female councillors in the state after the 2003 elections. A similar situation played out in 2007, 2011 and in the last 2015 elections. For instance, in Lagos State during the last election, women who contested in election recorded substantial losses as the number of women in the Lagos State House of Assembly shrunk from seven to five.

Similarly, in ogun state, from 1999- 2003, there was no woman in the 26-member State House of Assembly, no female commissioners out of the 14-member State Executive Council. Also, there was no woman out of the 20 Local Government Chairmen; there were only 6 women out of the 236 councilors in the state (Oni, 2012). Although in 2003 ogun made historic record when Alhaja Salmot Makanjuola Badru became the Deputy-Governor of the state and another woman - Mrs. Titi Oseni became the Speaker of the State House of Assembly, yet there were only 2 females in the 26-member state House of Assembly. More so, similar pattern followed in 2011 and 2015; women remain underrepresented.

From the foregoing and despite several advocacy efforts towards promoting women's rights in the country, the effectiveness of the existing advocacy measures presently employed in promoting and protecting women's rights in Nigeria has been questioned in the light of the rising trend in women's rights violation. It is these issues amongst others that motivates this study and the need to earnestly and urgently interrogate them cannot be over-emphasized. Therefore, the study investigated the effectiveness of selected advocacy instruments namely celebrity advocacy, Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), policy advocacy and E-advocacy as tools for promoting and protecting women's rights in Lagos and Ogun States Southwest Nigeria, between 1999-2015.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

The nature and trend of women's rights advocacy has been dynamic, and it involves both state and non-states (NGOs, development institutions, groups) actors, at the national, regional, and international levels; yet, the status of women's rights remain worrisome across the world. Globally, with respect to civil and political rights of women, only nine (9) women served as Heads of State and fifteen (15) served as Heads of Government as at January 2014 (World Economic Forum, 2015). On economic, social, and cultural rights of women which include the rights to adequate food, housing, education, health, social security, water and sanitation, and work among others, women continue to suffer various forms of violation of these rights. For instance, the face of poverty is women; hence the concept of feminization of poverty. Of the 1.3 billion people in poverty worldwide, 70 percent are women (Olabisi, 2013).

According to Steady (2004), "Poverty is gendered" because women and men have different and unequal experiences of poverty and become poor through different, though related processes. Similarly, Kabeer (2012) observed that in Nigeria, over 75% of women are in poverty, more so with the increasing existence of female headed households (the de-facto and de jure) who have the responsibilities of taking care of their families. Besides, the civil and political rights of women which include representation and participation in elective and appointive position remain abysmal. While women represent approximately 50% of the Nigerian population according to the 2006 population census, their level of political participation and representation in governance is very poor, being largely noticed at the level of voting and latent support (Wader, Dahiru and Imam, 2015).

However, in spite of all of the responses and mechanism aimed at addressing issues on women's rights, the status of women and specifically the protection of women's civil, political, economic, social and cultural (ECOSOC) rights have been largely worrisome and to say the least deplorable. For instance, the British Council's (2012) study titled *Gender in Nigeria* reported that Nigeria currently stands at 118th out of 192 countries in terms of gender parity, thereby lagging far behind fellow African countries such as South Africa (43th) and Rwanda (65th). The British Council's report further indicated that the status of women and girls is abysmal. For instance, only 7.2% of women own the land they farm; 15% of women have a bank account and each day, 144 Nigerian women die as a result of complications arising during childbirth. Also,

the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) Human Development Index (HDI) (2016) specifically reported that Nigeria ranked 157 out of 188 countries examined in the study, compared with Botswana that ranked 106, São Tomé and Príncipe placed at 143 positions, Ghana 139th position and Kenya occupying the 145th position in the Gender Inequality Index. The report further stated that sub-Saharan Africa was losing an estimated average of \$95 billion due to gender inequality. A World Bank (2012) report revealed that if women are given equal opportunity as men in employment, it would add 13.9 billion naira to Nigeria's annual Gross Domestic Product (GDP) (Animasaun, 2016).

According to Sunday (2013) Nigerian women have the lowest representation of 5.9% in the national legislature when compared to the situation in most other African countries. For example, Uganda as at 2012 has 34.6%, South Africa (43.2%), Ethiopia (27.7%) Cameroun (20%), Niger (12.3%) and DR Congo (8.0%) respectively. He further notes, in the area of political representation, as at 2013 the percentage was 7% which was among the lowest in the world (Sunday, 2013). The national average of women's civil and political rights in Nigeria has remained 6.7 percent in elective and appointive positions, which is far below the global average benchmark of 22.5 percent, Africa's regional average of 23.4 percent and West African sub-regional average of 15 percent (Oloyede, 2015). A comparative study of election results in Nigeria from 1999 to 2015 reveals that elective positions still elude women despite several advocacy efforts.

With respect to economic and social-cultural rights of women, the situation of women in the states are disturbing. For instance, in Ogun State, poverty among rural women remains on the increase Ashimolowo and Otufale (2012). In Lagos State, domestic violence, sexual assault, discrimination and forced eviction of women from their market stalls and homes due to increased urban renewal projects of government with dire consequences on the mental, emotional, social and economic well-being of these women is a common place. Studies on force eviction by Ngwakwe (2002) and those on urban renewal by Olabisi (2012) and Adekola, Allen, and Tinuola (2017) showed that women's economic rights are often grossly affected during this exercise. Given these realities, raises questions on how effectively viable and pragmatic the use of advocacy mechanism has helped to decisively tackle the incidence of violation of women's

rights in Nigeria and specifically Lagos and Ogun States is a burning question. What factors hinder the ability and capacity of women's and girls' rights advocates delivering their promises or achieving their aims of promoting and protecting women's rights? More so, there is dearth of research evaluating current advocacy mechanism. This is a critical social phenomenon and a gap worth exploring given the continuous violation of women's rights, and growing gender inequality in many developing countries where Nigeria is high on the list. Hence, this study.

1.3 Research Questions

In view of the stated problem, this study was premised on the following questions:

- i. How effective are the advocacy tools used in the promotion and protection of women's rights in Lagos and Ogun States?
- ii. What factors account for the growing incidence of women's rights violation in Lagos and Ogun states?
- iii. What are the impediments to advocacy framework towards the effective promotion and protection of women's rights in Lagos and Ogun States?
- iv. What can be done to attain improvement in the advocacy for the promotion and protection of women's rights

1.4 Objectives of the Study

This study is aimed at examining the advocacy tools used in the promotion and protection of women's rights in Lagos and Ogun States of Southwest, Nigeria. The research focused on achieving the following objectives: namely, to;

- i. Examine the viability and effectiveness of advocacy tools used in promoting and protecting women's rights in Lagos and Ogun States;
- ii. Investigate the underlying factors responsible for growing incidence of women's rights violation in Lagos and Ogun States.
- iii. Investigate hinderances to the effectiveness of advocacy framework in the promotion and protection of women's rights in Lagos and Ogun States; and
- iv. Examine pathways for improvement in advocating for the promotion and protection of women's rights

1.5 Hypotheses

The research was predicated on the following null hypotheses:

Hypothesis 1

H₀: Advocacy is largely ineffective in promoting women's rights in Lagos and Ogun States.

Hypothesis 2:

H₀: Advocacy has no significant effect on women's' rights promotion and protection in Lagos and Ogun States.

Hypothesis 3:

H₀: Advocacy framework has no significant influence on women's rights violation in Lagos and Ogun States.

1.6 Significance of the Study

Scholarly discourse on gender issues, including those on governance, trafficking, sex trade, rape and all others are large and expanding. However, fewer studies have been done on the factors responsible for the failure or inadequacy of "gender-based" advocacy projects (Cohen & Green 2012). Specifically, studies on the advocacy tools used in the promotion and protection of women's rights in Nigeria are few. This reality underscores the essence of this study on the effectiveness or otherwise of advocacy tool for promoting and protecting women's rights. The findings of this study have great potentials in advancing women's rights promotion and protection for the following reasons. Firstly, it contributes to the growing body of literature on advocacy by expanding the frontiers of discourse on definitions and activities that characterised advocacy beyond the traditional knowledge or notion of the concept. Secondly, it generates new perspectives regarding questions on women's rights by departing from previous studies that routinely focused on the problem of women's rights violation without examining why the problem persisted despite several responses and measures adopted to address the malaise.

Thirdly, the application of the findings and recommendations of this study have the viability of addressing the global gender-specific issues which constitute Goal 5 (gender parity in politics, economic empowerment, equality and freedom from discrimination) of the United Nations' Sustainable Development Goals aimed at achieving gender equality and empower all women and girls. Also, the 2015 McKinsey Global Institute report showed that closing the gender gap and

encouraging the participation of women in public, private, and social sectors could add about \$12 trillion to the global GDP by 2025 (McKinsey Global Institute, 2015). Finally, the findings of this study are capable of helping Non-Governmental Organization (NGOs), women's rights activist groups, policymakers, human rights activists, and developmental agencies to chart a new in-road in the promotion and protection of women's rights rather than the one-size-fit-all method usually engaged.

1.7 Scope of the Study

Women's civil, political rights, economic, socio and cultural rights were selected for this study because the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) recognized two sets of human rights, i.e. Civil and political rights (CPR), as well as Economic, Socio and Cultural Rights (ECOSOC), without separating these categories. Also, these rights are documented in two separate international legal frameworks or covenants namely the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR or 'the Covenant'). The two covenants constituted the core of the international human rights and the universality, indivisibility, interdependence and interrelatedness of all human rights (Ssenyonjo, 2009).

The study focused on the Southwest and specifically Lagos and Ogun States because they share similar and long history of women activism. For instance, women's activism in Ogun State is often synonymous with the Egba Women riots organised under the aegis of the Abeokuta Women's Union (AWU). The Union led a revolt against colonial taxation and patriarchal structure, a condition which eventually forced the Alake of Abeokuta to abdicate his throne. It is also the home of the legendary women's rights activist, Funmilayo Ransome-Kuti (The Lioness of Lisabi), a woman whose name resonates in the history of women's right activism in Ogun State. Similarly, Lagos, like Ogun, has a remarkable history of women personalities such as Alimotu Pelewura, Oyinkan Morenike Abayomi, and Charlotte Olajumoke Obasa to mention a few. Importantly, a study of the two states would yield expanded database on women's rights which is scanty in scholarly research on gender question in the two states.

The study covered the period between 1999 and 2015. This timeline was considered significant because 1999 marked Nigeria's return to civil rule after 28 years of military dictatorship and sixteen years is potentially large enough for assessment. This period is important because democracy is not only about political parties, elections, checks and balances, participation and citizenship rights but also about social inclusion. Therefore, the extent to which successive democratic regimes in Nigeria since 1999 has been able to include women in governance and promote women issues within sixteen years is a sizeable time-span (Moghadam, 2008). As a matter of fact, the study is evidently necessary because the constitutional and legal status of women and women's participation at all levels of governance is key indicators of the general level of democratic development (Mama, 1995).

The study, therefore, describe how the Nigerian democratic dispensation since 1999 has influenced advocacy and the status of women's rights, with particular emphasis on women's civil and political rights (CPR), and economic, social and cultural rights (ECOSOC). This period of "un-thwarted" activism needed to be examined because it also marked the beginning of a wave of activism on issues affecting women, particularly, the questions of female-gender advocacy and women's rights. The waves of activism in the democratic process were complemented by a new wave of "first ladyism" operating at all state and federal levels in Nigeria which has been sustained till date. As wives of political leaders, these first ladies have access to money through state and non-state actors to further women's interest and as a result get women to support their husbands. The First Lady phenomenon, as it has been labeled, has reached new levels of prominence, thereby raising a number of questions regarding its effectiveness, democratic character of this form of gender politics, and its likely impact on ordinary Nigerian women (Mama, 1995).

Lagos was specifically selected for its diverse population as a metropolitan city and because it served as the hub of human rights activism, including women's rights. Lagos has the highest population of 9,013,534 among the six states in the Southwest geopolitical zone and natives of other Southwest states are likely to be found in Lagos because of rural-urban drift. Also, Lagos State is one of the most commercially viable and buoyant states in the federation because of its unique position and status as Nigeria's industrial and commercial nerve-centre (Egharevba 2008:14). Likewise, the study benefitted from the diversities of Lagos with its representation,

reliability, statistical coverage and accuracy that might not be obtainable in smaller population (Bryman, 2008:179). Ogun State was selected because of its proximity to Lagos. It is the home of many firsts: among which is the state with the first woman to drive a car, and because of the legendary contribution of its natives to national development (Olukoya, 2016). Lastly, Ogun State was also selected because a sizeable number of people that work in Lagos live in Ogun and vice-versa.

1.8 Organization of the Study

There are five chapters in this study. Chapter one was on the background to the study, statement of the problem, research questions, objectives, hypothesis, significance of the study, scope of the study and organisation of the study.

Chapter two provided the theoretical framework and a critical appraisal of relevant literature on advocacy and various types of women's rights. The chapter also focused on advocacy and specific issues on women's rights in Lagos and Ogun States which were the selected states from the Southwest geopolitical zone. It examined the history, nature, and trends of advocacy in selected states and investigated the individual, state and Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) and celebrity efforts in addressing women's rights. The chapter ended by identifying the lacuna in literature and the contribution of this study in addressing those gaps.

Chapter Three discussed the research methods which include research design, the population of the study, sampling frame and sampling technique, sample size, method of data collection, method of data analysis, reliability and validity instrument, ethical consideration and study area.

Chapter Four dwelt on data presentation, analysis and discussion of research findings.

Chapter Five constituted the summary, conclusion, recommendations, and suggestion for further studies.

1.9 Operational Definition of Terms

1.9 .1 Advocacy.

In this study, it refers to the multiplicity or variety of efforts, actions, laws put in place to drive the promotion and protection of women's rights

1.9.2 Advocacy Framework

It refers to processes, procedures, protocol put in place to drive the promotion and protection of women's rights

1.9.3 Celebrity Advocacy

This study interpreted celebrity advocacy as the advocacy of popular personality or the use of stars and icons by development institutions or women focus NGOs to promote social issues; specifically women's issue. Celebrities such as Nollywood stars: Omotola Jalade Ekeinde and Kate Henshaw are practical examples of this form of advocacy. Omotola has used her celebrity status to promote women's economic and social-cultural rights. She gave a talk at the World Economic Forum on "Poverty is sexist." Similarly, Kate Henshaw has also promoted women's civil and political rights and even ventured into politics.

1.9.4 E-Advocacy

E-Advocacy in this study should be taken as the use of all electronic technologies in the promotion of fundamental rights of women. It is the use of Information Communication Technology (ICT) to raise awareness, commitment, and action on the fundamental rights of women. The success of the new media in the Arab spring has prompted new interests in how this platform could be mobilized to promote other forms of social change such as women's rights. Studies on E-advocacy tools such as the use of social media and other ICT tools have found them effective in bringing about mass mobilisation on shared issues of concern.

1.9.5 Non-profit Advocacy /Non-Governmental Organization (NGOs)

It generally refers to any group of individuals or organizations independent of government and run primarily to advance a cause in this case women's rights. In this context, this referred to Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) and civil society organisations (CSOs) that focused on women's rights in Lagos and Ogun States Nigeria. An example of non-profit advocacy group included Women Arise, Project Alert, Women Consortium of Nigeria, International Federation of Lawyers (FIDA) among others.

1.9.6 Policy Advocacy

This was defined in this work as any documents that spell out plan, strategy, procedure and programme that seek to address gender and related questions on women's rights. For instance, Nigeria formulated a National Policy on Women in 2000 and later replaced it with the National Policy on Gender Equality in 2007 (Kura and Yero, 2013).

1.9.7 Women's Rights

Simply stated, they are privileges that accrue to women by the virtue of their humanity. It is the freedom, privileges, opportunity that is available to women as their indivisible rights independent of culture, religion, race or ethnicity.

1.9.8 Civil and Political Rights

Refers to those rights or privileges and duties that accrue to a citizen of eligible age to vote, voted for, perform specific civic duties and enjoy certain privileges.

1.9.9 Economic, Cultural and Social Rights

This are rights that cut across all sphere of human existence (health, housing, sanitation, e.t.c) which a citizen is entitled to by the virtue of their humanity.

1.9.10 Women's Rights Promotion

Refers to awareness or consciousness being raised about women's rights or privileges that they should enjoy. It is the various ways through which stakeholders in women's rights project drive awareness or recognition about or for women's rights.

1.9.11 Women's Rights Protection

This refers to those mechanism and institutions (i.e executive, judiciary) that guarantee women's rights. It is the enforcement of the rights of women without prejudice to law, religion or economic status and the change that result from the enforcement of this law.

1.10 Study Area

The thirty-six states in Nigeria are presently structured into six geo-political zones of North-Central, North-East, North-West, South-East, South-South and South-West. There are six states in each of these geo-political regions except North West and South East that have seven and five

accordingly (Fieldwork, 2016). The study focused on Lagos and Ogun States South-West, Nigeria.

Lagos State is one of the states carved out of the defunct Western region in the old colonial Nigeria; it is situated within the South-West geopolitical zone of Nigeria. The grouping of the states was done based on linguistic affinity, contiguity and cultural affiliation. It is bounded by Ogun State on the North and East and in the West, it shares boundaries with the Republic of Benin. The state was created on 27th May, 1967 by virtue of State (Creation and Transitional Provisions) Decree No. 14, of 1967 which formed part of the restructuring of Nigeria's Federation into twelve states. Lagos occupies a geographical landmass of 787 square kilometres and it is made up of creeks, lagoons, rivers and swamps. According to the 1991 population census, Lagos was put at 5.7 million while the 2006 census put its population at 9,013,534, a figure that remains largely contested. The Yoruba-speaking ethnic nationality predominantly populated the state although rural-urban drift has made it one of the most diverse and heterogeneous state in Nigeria. The administration of the state is divided into thirty-seven (37) Local Council Development Areas and twenty (20) Local Government Councils (LGCs).

Ogun State is one of the six states in the Southwest geopolitical zone in Nigeria and it was created in February 3, 1976 out of the old Western region. It is bounded in the south by the Atlantic Ocean and Lagos State. Oyo State borders the state northward while towards the eastern frontier of the state is Ondo State. The state comprises of six sub-ethnic groups viz, Ijebu, Remo, Egba, Egbado, Awori and Egun; majority of the people of Ogun State speak Yoruba language but this is, however, broken into distinct linguistic characteristics notable among which are the Egbas, the Yewas formerly known as the Egbados, the Ijebus and the Remos. The state has a population of 3,728,098 according to the 2006 census figures.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Preamble

The chapter examines previous studies on issues about women's rights and advocacy. The goal is to locate the thesis within existing literatures, while also identifying the gaps that need to be filled. The women issues examined ranges from women's under-representation in leadership positions (specifically appointive and elective position), discrimination against women, to female genital mutilation, gender-based violence, widowhood practices, unequal pay for women, and other issues such as maternal health and feminization of poverty that have been found to be detrimental to women's well-being and dignity. Also, the chapter focuses on advocacy and specific issues on women's rights in Lagos and Ogun States. Finally, the chapter provides empirical and theoretical framework appropriate for the study. 07062156465

2.1 Literature Review

2.1.1 The Concept of Advocacy

Advocacy is often used interchangeably with several terms such as upstream engagement, public relations, awareness raising, lobbying, policy development, social mobilisation, campaigning, empowerment, media work and communications, all of which constitute a form of advocacy but do not accurately define advocacy (UNICEF, 2010). Defining advocacy is somewhat problematic; an understanding that made Atkinson (1999) to opine that 'what is advocacy?' is a deceptive question. This is because it includes all kinds of activities such as seeking change in the policies, practices, systems, structures, decisions and attitudes. It also extends to campaigning, lobbying, research for interpreting problems and suggesting preferred solutions; public education and influencing public opinion; agenda setting and policy design; constituent actions and public mobilizations; policy implementation, monitoring feedback; election-related activity and even more; all of which are difficult to encapsulate in a single definition (Reid, 2000; Tearfund, 2014). It is undertaken in different contexts and it requires a wide range of skills making its definition varied along the many usage, practices, and profession.

However, Reid's (2000) definition of advocacy has been adapted and expanded for this study. Reid defines it as any wide range of individual and collective expressions aimed at promoting

and protecting any cause. In this study, advocacy refers to any wide range of individual and collective expressions and activities carried out by state and non-state actors towards the promotion and protection of the rights of women. The action will include advocating the implementation of laws, policies, and declarations that have been made at global, regional, and national levels; expressions which include popular speeches, research, literary works (such as books and movies; use of ICT such as social media and other media works, as well engagements of celebrities) and conferences held for the promotion and protection of the rights of women. It is important to note that while this study employs Reid's (2000) definition of advocacy, an interrogation of the varying definitions from literature, can provide an understanding of the common features and principles of advocacy.

Reid (2000) opines that it connotes representation, social and political participation. Representational advocacy can mean representing the interests of the vulnerable, disadvantaged, and aggrieved individuals, group, race, tribe, sex, or organisations such as government and businesses. In this context, advocacy can involve three approaches: it can either be for, by, or with the vulnerable, disadvantaged, aggrieved group, individual or race before another party. In terms of social and political participation, Reid asserts that advocacy is a form of social and political engagement by an individual, a group, a race, an ethnicity, a tribe, a sex, or organisations in issues that affect or interest them. Participation may involve collective action and social protest as well as the face-to-face contact of people, political leaders, business, and organisations. Reid, further describes it in terms of venue of the action. For instance, advocacy on public issues is called public advocacy compared with advocacy done in a court of law between a couple seeking a termination of their marriage. Verba, Schlozman, and Brady (1995) opine that advocacy as participation may involve stimulating and participating in public action, creating opportunities for people to express their concerns in social and political arena, building the resources and skills necessary for effective action.

Contrary to Reid's (2000) position, Thompson (2002) views advocacy as 'a significant form of empowerment in which relatively vulnerable individuals or groups are aided in their attempts to influence or challenge more powerful or hegemonic elements in society.' In other words, it is equipping the individuals, groups or race as the case may be to realize their rights or secure their interests whatever it may be. This dimension of empowerment in which victims or aggrieved

groups or individuals are empowered to speak for themselves is an important element of advocacy because according Fayoyin (2015a), the voices of the victims (e.g. polio victims, people living with HIV, children affected by abuse, neglect) when empowered to speak for themselves “humanize social issues and eliminate the impersonal effect of cold statistics and data”.

Dalrymple and Boylan (2013) echo the position of Thompson (2002) by noting that advocacy entails empowering service users, citizens, groups or individuals whose rights and opportunities have been denied to regain their voice and assess the rights and opportunities of those things denied them. It dates back to centuries of human history—even before the term was ever used in modern times—because humans have always spoken for and on behalf of others and the community at large (Morgan, 2014). People, groups, and society have been involved in advocacy before recorded history when “they started reviewing rules and norms that cause injustice to some people, family, tribe, school, or workplace; or at the local, national, regional and/or international levels” (UNICEF 2010). Thus, advocacy in term of its practice predates the dawn of modern history although the word was only introduced into the Oxford English dictionary in the 1300s as a noun (Morgan, 2014).

Also, advocacy has been defined as a tool for engineering social change. It can be described as an attempt by individuals, groups, or formal organisations to effect social or political change concerning a particular issue (Boris and Maronick, 2009; Reid, 2006) and it constitutes those activities engaged by individuals, civil societies, and activists in influencing the choices and actions of those who make policies, laws, and regulations. It also targets those distributing resources and making other decisions that affect the well-being of the poor, vulnerable, disadvantaged, aggrieved or disgruntled groups (UNICEF, 2010). Advocacy activities involve several actors aimed at influencing policies, creating policies, reforming policies, and ensuring effective implementation and enforcement of policies. In other words, it is a means to an end not an end in itself and it is aimed at solving social problems and issues that concern the society. It involves multitudes of players and institutions, including multilateral organisations such as the UN and the World Bank, bilateral development aid agencies, national governments and local governments, individuals and big corporations (Kaare, Chowdhury and Kazi, 2007). Advocacy involves creating awareness and communicating through the media for behavioural change,

developing partnerships, building coalitions or alliances, campaigning, lobbying and negotiating, research/publications, working with children and young people, social mobilisation and conferences/events (UNICEF 2010).

According to Tearfund (2002), it takes place at many levels and venues wherever there are relationships and interactions. It may vary according to the problem and types of groups involved. At the international level, it may entail pleading/seeking for international debt cancellation, reducing greenhouse gas emissions, embracing a renewable energy, and ensuring equality or balance in the international trading system (arms sales inclusive). But at the regional level, it involves mediating regional conflicts, trade policies, as well as health and educational policies. At the national level, it may center on freedom of speech and religion, political representation, land rights and many other issues; while at the local authority and community level, it may focus on allocation of land, and roles of women and children. Fayoyin (2013) sees advocacy as a mechanism for engineering change in the system of governance, power relations and institutional functions (Fayoyin, 2013). The same Fayoyin (2014) further explores how advocacy was used to change public attitude towards albinos in Tanzania and the Osu castes in Eastern Nigeria. Dalrymple and Boylan (2013) assert that advocacy is a crucial element in achieving social justice. It is a way to ensure inclusion and guarantee that everyone is heard. Predominantly, people or group who are vulnerable to exclusion and people or group who have particular difficulties in making their views known. The goal of advocacy is to address inequities, inequality, and disparities, promote and protect human rights, social justice, a healthy or conducive environment, to advance the opportunities for democracy (UNICEF, 2010).

Cohen (2001) sums up the varying definitions highlighted above by noting that advocacy consists of organised efforts and actions based on the reality of “what is” as against what ought to be. Beyond this, it is a strategy for raising the profile of social issues, influencing policies and promoting social change (Fayoyin, 2014). The concept of “advocacy” extends beyond the notion of advocating, championing, or supporting a specific viewpoint or cause (Obar, Zube, and Lampe, 2012) to include speaking, acting, and/or writing to promote and defend the rights, needs, and interests of people. It involves support, assistance, and representation. In sum, all the above definitions of advocacy are consistent with the Action for Advocacy Development’s definition, which draws on the work of Wolf Wolfensberger:

Advocacy is speaking, acting, writing with minimal conflict of interest on behalf of the sincerely perceived interests of a disadvantaged person or group to promote, protect and defend their welfare and justice by being on their side and no-one else's, being primarily concerned with their fundamental needs, remaining loyal and accountable to them in a way which is emphatic and vigorous and which is, or is likely to be, costly to the advocate or advocacy group (1994:2)

As diverse as the definitions are, the following themes or threads run through them: influencing decision makers, changing policies, changing attitude and behaviour, promoting empowerment and justice on any given social cause. It is pertinent to note that advocacy is a “dynamic process involving an ever-changing set of actors, ideas, agendas, and politics” (Tearfund 2014; 2002,) and this process can be divided into five fluid stages: issue identification, solution formulation and selection, awareness creation, policy action, and evaluation (Sharma, 1999). The processes involved in advocacy might differ one from another depending on the issue concerned and most of the processes involve problem tree analysis. The problem tree is a framework that helps to define the problem which policy advocates are seeking to change through any form of advocacy but specifically through a policy intervention. The process is characterised by several steps; the first-step problems are identified. In the steps that followed, a research is commissioned, results are analysed, best options are chosen, and policies are developed, implemented and finally evaluated (Kaare, Chowdhury and Kazi, 2007).

Furthermore, numerous types of advocacy are noted in literature and training toolkit on advocacy. Some of these include but not limited to profit and nonprofit advocacy, direct and indirect advocacy, global, regional, national, grassroots advocacy, policy advocacy and citizen-centered advocacy among others. Reid (2000) identifies the following form of advocacy: legislative advocacy, grassroots advocacy, legal advocacy, electoral advocacy, labour advocacy, administrative or agency advocacy, media advocacy, corporate advocacy and international advocacy. Similarly, Dalrymple and Boylan (2013) identify passive and non-passive advocacy, internal and external advocacy, systemic and case advocacy. Other forms include government centered advocacy, judicial advocacy, evidence-based advocacy, individual advocacy, systemic advocacy, and peer advocacy. Simply put, the types are inexhaustive. However, this study examined policy advocacy, non-profit advocacy, celebrity advocacy, and E-advocacy. These forms were chosen because they have been used more on women's rights advocacy in developed countries than any other forms. Also, while the efficiency of these forms of advocacy has been tested in developed countries, no such studies exist for developing countries in Africa and

specifically Nigeria. Also, there is an interwoven relationship between these four selected forms. Without the policies whether at regional, national or international level, advocates, whether celebrities, social media enthusiasts or non-profit advocates have nothing to speak to and without the advocates (celebrities, social media enthusiasts or non-profit), policies will be another book on the shelf.

2. 1 .2 Celebrity Advocacy

This involves the use of stars or celebrities and movie icons to promote social issues. It is predicated on what is generally referred to as star power, media appeal, public valorization, or sheer celebrity effect (Fayoyin, 2015). Celebrity advocacy involves leveraging the power of celebrities in promoting different development and public health issues. The major goal of celebrity advocacy is to take advantage of celebrities' following on social media networks such as Instagram, Facebook, Twitter and their constituency to attract media and public attention and create a buzz around issues to influence public opinion. One of the developmental agencies with significant experience in celebrity advocacy is UNICEF. With over 50 years of experience in celebrity advocacy, the organisation has at least 200 national, 10 regional, and 30 international goodwill ambassadors or spokespersons. Their army of celebrities includes:

Chess players, TV/film actors, and actress, singers, musicians, business women and men, TV journalists and writers, dancers, beauty queens, youth stars, former cricket players, former Judo champions, international professional football players, rally drivers, basketball stars, Olympic medalists, artists, children entertainers, models, intellectuals and child development experts, authors, tennis players, astronauts, explorers, cartoon characters, pianists, retired school teachers, gold medalists in gymnasts, composers, producers and performers, cross country cyclists, producers, football coaches, songwriters and pop artists, philanthropists, Royal Highnesses/Countess, standup comedians, fashion designers, conductors, athletes, TV hosts/hostess, puppeteers, dancers, philharmonic orchestra choirs, opera conductors, University professors, Gaelic sports players, paleontologist/scientific popularizers, junior ambassadors, medical doctors, violinists, cellists, grand sumo wrestlers, DJs, rugby legend, playwrights, alpine skier, pop singing groups, race car drivers, world tennis champions, basketball players, couturier, handball players, former prime ministers, entrepreneurs, adventurers, environmentalists, former MPs and football teams (UNICEF, 2009 cited in Fayoyin 2015a:56).

Moreover, heroes and fame have existed for millennia, but celebrity is a recent phenomenon (Kurzman, Anderson, Key, Lee, Moloney, Silver and Van Ryn, 2007). The word 'celebrity' today is a buzzword readily used to describe anyone the public deem fit. Yet, the history of the word is different from its contemporary usage. The earliest use of the term 'Celebrity' originally

refers to the spiritual observation of rites and ceremonies, and hence pomp and solemnity, but contemporary usage refers to ‘the condition of being much extolled or talked about’ that is, being a famous or notorious public character.

It is pertinent to note that the way in which celebrity is defined, created, traded and understood has changed from its original meaning which is linked with spiritual rite. The major reason for this change is due to the progress in technology which has led to innovation and invention of new tools and ways of communication. Jeffrey and Allatson (2015) note that the evolution of the conceptualization of celebrity is intertwined with the history and ‘democratization’ of celebrity in the United States, specifically with the sound movies (the late 1920s), inventions and proliferation of silent cinema (late nineteenth century), broadcast television (the 1940s), the Internet (the late 1970s), and social media (the 2000s), all of which influence the shifts in the meaning of celebrities and the way in which they emerge (Jeffreys and Allatson, 2015). Defining contemporary celebrity is a herculean task because celebrities have varied level of visibility and reach; some are known globally, others are celebrated at state levels, or even transnationally and translocally through ethnic affiliations and inter-continental diaspora networks and media. Yet, others create their own fame and become visible through social media and appeals to niche markets/audiences (Jeffrey and Allatson 2015).

Daley (2012) defines celebrities as branded personalities/goods that are, in some cases, manufactured and professionally marketed-increasingly by their agent or the celebrities themselves. To Adeyanju (2013), celebrities are individuals who are recipient of public recognition and possess such qualities as attractiveness and trustworthiness. The definition suggests that celebrities are individuals who have mastered their respective fields of endeavours and therefore command respect, acceptance, followership and popularity within the society. They are people with a high public profile and they cut across every field of human endeavour—from politics, sport, medicine, technology to engineering, politics, and religion.

However, the term has been used almost exclusively to refer to popular people in the entertainment industry. Shimp (2000) asserts that celebrity is as individual or person (actor, politician, poet, author, entertainer, or athlete e.t.c) who is recognized and acknowledge by the public for his or her feats in areas other than the product class endorsed. These categories of individuals are usually recruited to serve as representatives for the prospective brands, concepts

or ideas. Sociologist Van Krieken (2012) has described celebrity as a complex social form that includes relations of status, power and recognition. In the world of the celebrity, attention is commercialized such that the celebrity is organized around the distribution and exchange of attention, visibility, and recognition (Krieken, 2012).

Numerous celebrities are engaged to promote the cause of varying social issues. Rock star Bono's Product RED campaign raises money to fight HIV/AIDS in six African countries. Madonna is notable with "Raising Malawi", a cause to build a prestigious school similar to Oprah Winfrey's academy in South Africa. Madonna subsequently collaborate with an organization called 'Build On' to build and refurbish smaller schools in Malawi. Angelina Jolie's work as a United Nations' goodwill ambassador raising awareness on the issue of displaced people around the world, including in Africa (Bell, 2013). The range of topics supported by celebrities is much wider, including climate change, health and animal welfare (Panis and Bulck 2012).

The term is known in some studies as engagement, endorsement, activism, and philanthropy depending on the purpose; it is a strategy mostly used in advertising but now widely employed by development agencies and non-governmental organizations (NGOs). It entails the association of well-known and trustworthy personalities to a brand, product, cause or ideology. This is done based on the notion that celebrities are held in high esteem and have large followership or fans. The goal is that those that use celebrities can actually leverage on their (celebrities') popularity and followership as a positive catalyst in the adoption of cause, idea, brand or product they are associated with (Adekoya and Chioma, 2015). Celebrity advocacy which describes the activities undertaken by celebrities in pursuit of a cause is proving a rich and varied stream of scholarship (Brockington, 2015).

Celebrity studies are emerging area of scholarship, with varying interests in celebrity life, philanthropy, advocacy, activism, engagement, and endorsement. There are others that examine audience perception of celebrities and heroism. Particularly, research on celebrities advocacy ranges from studies on economics perspective of marketing and advertising with "endorsers in a non-profit context" by Wheeler (2009) a notable one, to those who look at it from a humanitarian or a socio-philanthropic angle such as "celebrity humanitarianism" by Yrjola (2011b), and "celebrity philanthropy" by Nickel and Eikenberry (2009). Others are "celebrity advocacy"

popularized by Thrall, Lollo-Fakhreddine, Berent, Donnelly, Herrin, Paquette, (2008), a political focus on “celebrity diplomacy” by Cooper (2008) and Pleios (2011), and “celebrity politics” from West and Orman (2003) (Panis and Bulck 2012).

There is a growing attempt to better understand celebrity advocacy, philanthropy and support for diverse issues in several academic fields. There are edited collection (Tsaliki, Frangonikolopoulos, and Huliaras, 2011) and numerous journal articles (Street 2003, 2004, 2012; Biccum, 2007; Brockington, 2008; Richey and Ponte, 2008; Samman, Auliffe, MacLachlan, 2009; Yrjölä, 2009, 2011; Biccum, 2011; Repo and Yrjölä, 2011a; Panis and Bulck, 2012; Wheeler, 2011; Chouliaraki, 2012; and Driessens 2013) and several book-length studies (Cooper, 2008; Brockington, 2014; Richey and Ponte, 2011; Kapoor, 2012; and Wheeler 2013), exploring different facets of the phenomenon (Brockington, 2015). Celebrity advocacy also involves making films, fund-raising, writing articles, attending rallies, meeting supporters, donating recipes to cook books or signing petitions. Also, it can involve less visible work behind the scenes such as meeting policy makers or politicians, arranging meetings between stakeholders and the organizations they support among others. ‘Celebrity advocacy’, therefore, goes beyond just speaking out and literally advocating something, it includes any activities which support the work of a cause (Brockington and Henson, 2015).

Celebrity engagement can range from an optional, one-time photo shoot, political lobbying for urgent issues to an extensive engagement as celebrity ambassador for a particular NGO, and (Finlay (2011) and Pleios (2011)). There are different levels of celebrity engagement with the social cause. Finlay (2011) and Pleios (2011) differentiate between celebrities who act on their own account (Individually) and multilateral approach (those forming an alliance with an established organization). According to Finlay (2011), the former is an advocacy in which the the celebrity is accountable for the cause and campaign’s legitimacy in the eyes of the public and she/he is strongly associated with a celebrity’s personality. The later stands for a multilateral approach in which the celebrity is identify with the cause but the legitimacy and accountability towards public is backed by an established non-profit organization. Bono and Geldof are examples of the former, and Angelina Jolie’s engagement as Goodwill Ambassador for the UNHCR is prototypical of the later type of celebrity advocate (Panis and Bulck, 2012). George Clooney (Save Darfur Campaign and the Satellite Sentinel Project), Ben Affleck (Eastern Congo

Initiative) and Invisible Children “Kony 2012” are other examples. In Nigeria, celebrities like Nollywood stars Omotola Jalade Ekeinde, Stephanie Okereke Linus and Kate Henshaw are practical examples of celebrity advocates. Omotola has used her celebrity status to advocate women’s economic and social-cultural rights. She gave a talk at World Economic Forum on “Poverty is sexist” and Kate Henshaw has advocated women’s civil and political rights and even ventured into politics herself.

However, Huddart (2005) further distinguishes among three types of celebrity engagement: creating public awareness for it, advocating a cause, and calling upon the audience to raise funds. In each case, celebrities can demonstrate a low, medium, high, or transformational level of commitment (Panis and Bulck, 2012). Multilateral organizations (UN agencies in particular) and international nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) have sought celebrity endorsements ostensibly to raise western public awareness on particular issues and the profile of their works, in what is increasingly a crowded market place (Goodman, 2010). Such celebrities then become spokespersons for particular human rights issues and act as mediators/translators of such issues to a western audience (Daley, 2012).

Celebrity advocacy is engaged for social cause for varying reasons. It is a way of doing politics – of effecting change, of lobbying, of raising money for change-making organizations and participating in political issues (Brockington and Henson, 2015). It is used for creating awareness and reaching vast new sections of the general population (Panis and Bulck 2012). It can also be a catalytic force in marking the shift from grassroots and elite lobbying to “third-party” interventions in what David Cooper calls “celebrity diplomacy” (Chouliaraki, 2012). Simply put, celebrities’ societal engagement is to grab the attention of a wide audience for a social cause and their advocacy can be targeted at different actors in civil society, including entrepreneurs, members of a particular non-profit organization (e.g. field workers), policy makers, the media, and, finally, the general population (Panis and Bulck, 2012). Corporations, politicians and charitable organizations utilize celebrity power to reach a wider and increasingly younger audience.

Celebrities have become active tool in the field of development, antipoverty campaigns and humanitarianism (Daley, 2012). Regarding feminism and women’s rights advocacy, celebrities’ feminism is increasingly gaining popularity with many pop culture icons publicly embracing a

feminist identity. Taylor Swift, Lena Dunham, Emma Stone, Beyoncé and Emma Watson, have all joined the ranks of public feminists. These celebrities create public artistic work (as in the case of the song *Flawless* by Beyoncé) which facilitate a platform for strategic organization that raise consciousness about gender inequality. Celebrities' engagement with social causes has significant advantages: they draw media attention to social causes, often where government will be lacking; they can cut through the inertia of governmental politicking and bureaucracy using social, symbolic and economic capital to draw affluent consumers and influential people to the social ills (Bell, 2013). Bell further argues that the use of celebrities can make a material difference in the lives of those they advocate for because of their roles as "privileged travelers" in a globalized world. The argument is that western celebrity can act in some ways as window on Africa and other region that they visit.

Western celebrities advocate brings the western media to places of need that would otherwise remain invisible to people who live in developed countries. Using western celebrities as spokesperson for nonprofit causes can be a productive means of stakeholder communication that offers the potential to increase awareness of, focus attention and grow resources for these causes (Branigan and Mitsis, 2014). Celebrity endorsement seems to be capable of selling ideas as well as products and can stimulate other celebrities to join in, even if they are not suitable or they do it for the wrong reasons (Samman, Auliffe, and MacLachlan, 2009, Panis and Bulck, 2012). Lange (2002) observed that the involvement of late Princess Diana in landmines issue contributed in creating an international environment conducive to the final changes of landmines policy and in fast-tracking the signature to the so-called Ottawa Treaty. Also, Mia Farrow's public action (abstinence from food) seems to have played a role in pushing Beijing to play a significant role in getting Khartoum to conform with UN mandates and to authorize the deployment of UN peacekeeping forces during the Darfur crisis (Cooper, 2008:119; Traub, 2008).

The UN agency UNICEF was the first International organization in Post 1945 era to recognize and utilize the star's ability in promoting both global awareness of causes, humanitarian issues and support for the organization. In 1953, it established the Goodwill Ambassadors' program. These ambassadors consist of famous individuals who are well recognized in their field; first ladies, sports stars, journalists and top models amongst others (Piccini, 2007). Huliaras and Tzifakis (2011) assert that the 1953 appointment of US actor Danny Kaye as the United Nations'

first Goodwill Ambassador was a turning point in celebrity engagement. They argue that celebrities had engaged in social causes before, intermittently and frequently on their own account, but Kaye's UN engagement marked a watershed in the creation of the celebrity ambassador appointed by an institutionalized organization. The concept was expanded within the UN, especially under former Secretary-General Kofi Annan and was adopted by many other non-profit organizations (Alleyne, 2006; Huliaras and Tzifakis, 2011; Wheeler, 2011, Panis and Bulck, 2012). Celebrity advocacy has become a significant part of the way in which development institution and non-governmental organizations (NGOs), developmental agencies and charities more generally try to achieve social and political change (Brockington and Henson, 2015). Yet, celebrity advocacy is faced with numerous questions in spite of its contribution to promoting advocacy efforts. Todd (2005) opines that there are many unanswered questions about celebrity advocacy:

Is celebrity advocacy self-sacrificing or self-serving? Vocational calling or avocational distraction? Is the advent of celebrity advocacy humanitarian altruism or the potential exploitation of people suffering? Are the stars of the Hollywood entertainment industry compassionate good-deed-doers or merely photo opp opportunists? Can celebrity advocacy actually move the masses to action? Does the glow of fame overshadow the merits of a cause or the role of politicians in setting the political and social agenda? Does celebrity involvement in a social cause transcend tabloid chatter and give rise to the pressure of world opinion? (Todd, 2005:2-6)

Meanwhile, most academic critics are skeptical about the engagement of celebrity advocacy for development causes with the exception of David Cooper. Cooper (2008) provides convincing narrative of the achievements of Bono, Geldof and Jolie as celebrity advocates, but most scholars are permissive. Authors like Yrjölä and Kapoor in their studies revealed the inequality and injustice, it is systematically associated and which they deem it to perpetuate (Kapoor, 2012; Repo and Yrjölä, 2011; Yrjölä, 2009, 2011a, 2011b). For Yrjölä, celebrity humanitarianism for instance is fouled by the injustices of the humanitarian movement. Scholar like Kapoor push further to speculate that celebrity advocates might in fact be 'sadists' delighting in their own good fortune in an unequal world order (Brockington and Henson, 2015). The celebrity advocacy with respect to development issues is under-functioning or not functioning well as it has not been able to address the injustices that lie at the heart of development problems (Brockington and Henson, 2015).

Other critics have moved on from scepticism towards celebrity activism and its apparent superficiality to consider its links with global power relations and the implications for global solidarity (Biccum, 2011). Critics highlight celebrity activism's role in perpetuating gendered and racial ideologies, especially when Africa is the focus of attention (Richey and Ponte, 2008; Repo and Yrjola, 2011; Brockington, 2008). In other words, western celebrity advocacy comes with some element of racialization because when western celebrities come to Africa, they paint the continent as a place plagued by poverty because Africa is a country in their imagination. This whole idea of Africa needing help is tied to a long history of Europeans' saviour mentality. Or the whole idea that we will always need the help of the West to survive. Celebrity advocacy reflects new forms of neo liberal networks of governance that reinforce global power relations and celebrity advocates, or philanthropists often take the form of a 'cure' without a thorough-going diagnosis. Daley (2012) opine that western celebrity philanthropy for instance create a biased narrative in which African peoples become 'victims' of poverty or disease, hapless circumstance, poor choices, or rotten luck which apparently sprang, without history. Such narrative obscures the ongoing legacy of colonialism, including the swap of colonial rule for institutions such as the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (Daley, 2012).

Bell (2013) argues that celebrity advocacy in Africa "generates a cultural hegemonic authority that recentres whiteness, and in turn polishes the celebrity brand." It does this re-centering by exoticizing nonspecific representations of African countries and people, and by creating narratives of near-divine greatness about the celebrity. Bell (2013) further explains that celebrity advocacy in Africa produces material benefits as it maintains a normative discursive space of whiteness. The discourses include neo-colonial stereotypes of African people as passive and helpless. Cameron, and Haanstra (2008) argue that representation of development as sexy through western celebrity advocacy may avoids portrayer of global South as helpless victims, yet it presents an image that the most important form of agency is Northern charity.

Celebrity advocacy risks devaluing complex social problems and it contributes to the growing 'marketization' and 'depolitization' of non-profit causes, whereby an 'uncritical celebration of celebrities becomes the focal point of attention at the expense of the cause (Nickel and Eikenberry, 2009). Douglas Kellner has employed his concept of the 'media spectacle' to suggest that the emphasis on celebrity can lead to a simplistic utilisation of symbolic gestures in place of

the complexities of diplomacy (Kellner, 2010). From a political economy perspective, celebrity advocacy is a cause marketing effort that partners with iconic brands to sell designated products; where companies give a percentage of sales toward the cause. A concrete example is that of George Clooney whose fame was exploited to promote the cause in Darfur, to enhance the business of Nespresso and to sponsor the Omega watches (Picinni, 2007).

Celebrity involvement in social cause often leaves the public entertained; it has been argued that this “celebrification” or “trivialization” of social issue does little for the serious discussion of policy (Feldmann, 1999). Besides, celebrity endorsement can be viewed skeptically as merely a marketing approach by celebrities who want to add credibility to their personal brand (Branigan and Mitsis, 2014). Kellner suggests that this leads to a form of politics which replaces substance with style and employs symbolic gestures in place of the complexities of diplomacy (Kellner 2010,). Kapoor (2012) further argues that:

Celebrity humanitarianism [...] is most often self-serving [...] it advances consumerism and corporate capitalism, and rationalizes the very global inequality it seeks to redress; it is fundamentally depoliticizing, despite its pretensions to ‘activism’; and it contributes to a ‘postdemocratic’ political landscape, which appears outwardly open and consensual, but is in fact managed by unaccountable elites (Kapoor, 2012: 1).

Alleyne argues that the UN’s deployment of Goodwill Ambassadors was both elitist and ethnocentric. He claims that there was an undermining of the UN’s principles and an assimilation of its beliefs into American-based values of capitalist and political marketing (Alleyne, 2005). The engagement of celebrities can sometimes have unintended consequences or diminishing returns for celebrities and organizations that engage them. In the case of the former, the decline in the followership of a celebrity, marriage issues such as divorce and personal failure e.t.c. can affect the cause they advocate or affect the organization. For instance, the divorce of former Princess Sarah ‘Fergie’ Ferguson from Prince Andrew meant she could not afford to perform pro bono tasks for the UN.

Similarly, Italian film star, Sophia Loren’s failure to perform her tasks as an advocate for family planning on her visit to the Philippines and her decline in fame affected her advocacy for the UN (Cooper, 2008; Wheeler, 2010). Most notably, it has been observed that the UN suffered from the embarrassments, both before and during Annan’s tenure, due to failure of celebrity advocate

particularly those represented by Sophia Loren, former Princess Sarah ‘Fergie’ Ferguson and Geri Halliwell (‘Ginger Spice’).

While studies of celebrity activism are large and expanding in Europe and America, it is only recently that Nigerian scholars of Nigeria have started engaging this phenomenon. To show that engagement of celebrity for social cause is relatively new in Nigeria, Ben-Nwankwo (2010) acknowledges that if not until a few years ago, the phrase 'celebrity endorsements or brand ambassador' were not frequently used in Nigeria. However, in much of the history of the use of celebrities, corporate organizations use the concepts more than non-profit organizations. This is because corporate organizations often monetize this celebrity image and following to increase market sale of their product. In Nigeria, many top-rated actresses and actors in entertainment and 'popular' personalities are paid to be the faces of brands. A good number of Nigerian brands, especially in the banking sectors and telecommunications, are now associating with creative personages in music and acting, as well as sports, to further the reach of their brands to targeted audiences (Galadima, and Dana'an, 2014).

A review of some celebrity endorsements deals in Nigeria by Osae-Brown (2013) reveals that in 2012 alone, these brand ambassadors were signed on to endorse some brands: WhizKid and Tiwa Savage (Pepsi), Hafeez Oyetoro (alias Saka), (Etisalat), Don Jazzy (Loya), Ini Edo, Omotola Jolade Ekehinde and Segun Arinze (Hollandia) and Davido, Nkem Owoh, Patience Ozokwor and Joseph Benjamin (MTN). Others are Genevieve Nnaji (Range Rover Sport), P. Square, Van Vicker, and Basket Mouth (Glo) and Samsung (Banky W and Bouqui). First Bank also signed on Blessing Okagbare as its brand ambassador during the London Olympics (Galadima, and Dana'an, 2014).

Beside corporate organizations, government agencies too are beginning to engage celebrities to further their public policy and initiatives. One of these strategies is the engagement of celebrity to endorse tax adverts on television. This strategy involves the use of prominent personalities like religious icons, actors/actresses, and other trustworthy personalities/public figures in adverts to convince the citizenry towards the payment of taxes (Adekoya and Chioma, 2015). In order to persuade the people of Lagos State towards the payment of taxes, some distinguished personalities such as Nollywood actors and actresses; Funke Akindele, Kate Henshaw, and

Segun Arinze and Pastor Enoch Adejare Adebode, a renowned Christian clergy have been used to encourage Lagos residents to pay tax.

The Nigerian non-profit sector has recently (and enthusiastically) taken up celebrity endorsement; yet the practice has thus far remained relatively unexamined in this locale. There is need for works that underscore how audiences assess celebrity advocacy on social cause, how they respond to it and make their own use of them (Markham, 2014). Jeffrey and Allatson (2015) claimed that there are hardly any empirical studies on how celebrity-involved or celebrity-inspired philanthropy operates in practice in the context of developing countries, what it does for local recipients and how it is viewed and understood by them. The nature of public responses to celebrity advocacy for development is not well explored (Brockington and Henson, 2015).

Surveys on audience response to celebrity advocacy are few and those that are visible are mostly in relation to celebrity advocacy in developed countries. Part of the purpose of this study was to address this gap and explore these reactions in more detail. This is a clear departure from much of what scholarship about celebrity normally does since the whole essence of the advocacy is to invite response and action. Most studies on celebrity focus on what celebrities were offering, and not how audiences were reading or reacting to those offerings. But, as Scott (2011) points out, we also need to know how well audience perception of celebrity advocacy conforms to expected outcome of them (Brockington and Henson, 2015).

2.1.3 Non-Profit Advocacy/Non-Governmental Organizations

Defining the concept of non-profit advocacy is a herculean task as there is no universally accepted definition of what it means. The term 'NGO' first appeared officially in post-1945 international organization particularly in the then newly formed United Nation because of the necessity to distinguish between participation rights for inter-governmental specialized agency and those of international private sectors in its charter (Baba, 2015). The United Nations (UN) defines NGOs as "organizations that are not a part of a government and are not conventional profit businesses." In situation where the NGOs are funded wholly or partially by governments, the NGO maintains its non-governmental status by removing government representatives from its membership (Ngeh, 2013). World Bank (1980) defines NGO as:

The diversity of NGOs strains any simple definition. They include many groups and institutions that are entirely or largely independent of government and that have primarily humanitarian or cooperative rather than commercial objectives. They are private agencies in industrial countries that support international development; indigenous groups organized regionally or nationally; and member-groups in villages. NGOs include charitable and religious associations that mobilize private funds for development, distribute food and family planning services and promote community organization. They also include independent cooperatives, community associations, water-user societies, women's groups and pastoral associations. Citizen Groups that raise awareness and influence policy are also NGOs (cited in Anbazhagan and Surekha, 2016:17)

These widely-accepted definitions have been variedly used, criticized and its content expanded or broadened to accommodate the ever-changing scene of international relations, politics and policy. Non-profit advocacy refers to collective rather than individual advocacy by non-profit organisations (Kimberlin, 2010). Moreover, the advent of non-profit advocacy pre-dates recorded history and it has arguably existed for centuries (Werker and Ahmed, 2008). The multiplicities of charities, humanitarian, and abolishment groups that engage in various advocacy from abolishment of slave trade in 1807, the International Committee of the Red Cross founded in 1863 in the aftermath of the Crimean war to the organizations that emerged during World War I and World War II, such as Save the Children Fund in 1917, Oxford Committee for Famine Relief (now Oxfam) in 1942, and CARE in 1945 offer examples of groups that today would be labeled as non-profit advocacy groups or NGOs (Keck and Sikkink, 1998; Werker and Ahmed, 2008).

The nonprofit advocacy is identified using a variety of terminologies, leading to the assertion that it is difficult to label or categorise them: voluntary organizations, private development organizations, people's organizations, private voluntary organizations, or the third sector (Okoye 2006). The term non-profit advocacy is not a readily-used term in Nigeria; rather, words such as non-governmental organizations (NGOs), civil based organizations (CBOs), and not-for-purpose (cause) are words used to describe organizations that serve various interests, be it politics, environment, disabled, women and girls or children. While the use of the term varies, nonetheless, all of them fall into the same category (non-profit), even though they sometimes perform different and similar functions. As noted in the definition of term in chapter one, there is no single, universal definition of NGOs or non-profit, yet the term has evolved in varied ways since its introduction by the UN in post-1945 and as such, the term NGO remain vague. NGOs are

defined sometimes based on ideological stance of the organization, their operation, purpose or geography. There are endless acronyms around the term "NGO". These include: CSO, Civil Society Organization; BINGO, Business-Friendly NGOs; ENGO: Environmental NGO, such as Greenpeace, DONGO: Donor Organized NGO; and GONGOs are government-operated NGOs, which may have been set up by state to look like NGOs in order to be able to access foreign aid or serve as tools/platform to state interest. There is INGO, standing for Intergovernmental NGOs; Oxfam, NGOs; and QUANGOs are quasi-autonomous non-governmental organizations, such as the International Organization for Standardization (ISO) (Anbazhagan and Surekha, 2016).

Also, NGO or non-profit can be national, transnational or grouped based on economic index. For instance, NGOs from developed countries are sometimes referred to as NNGO (northern NGOs) while those from global south, economically categorized as developing countries, are referred to as SNGOs (Southern NGOs). Other categorizations are: GSO - Grassroots Support Organization; TANGO-- Technical Assistance NGO; MANGO- Market Advocacy Organization to mention but a few. Consequently, efforts are made to distinguish between non-profit and NGOs. In nearly all countries, the term NGOs and Non-profit organizations are used interchangeably. Since both of them work for the benefit of human welfare and to better the society, the distinction between non-profit and NGO is arguably in the scope of work that most non-profits assume. Most non-profits are affiliated with churches, charities, old boys' and girls' clubs, and alumni associations among others, while NGOs are expanded and internationally driven footprints.

However, in this work, the term 'nonprofit' advocacy has been adopted as a working description, the generic element that distinguishes the sector from the commercial component of the private sector (Okoye, 2006). As Okoye further argues, the connotation of non-profit does not however mean that nonprofit organizations, do not record profit, but that they do not primarily exist to make profit and that where profits are earned, they are not distributed but are channeled back into the work of the organizations. This distinguishes them from other organizations. Olojede (1999), using the term civil-based organization rather than non-profit, notes that research output on non-profit in Africa has produced a varying classification of civil society organizations. Agbaje (1990); Diamond (1994); and Chazan (1992) made the following distinction on non-profit:

(i) Interest groups i.e. trade unions, professional and business groups.

- (ii) Organizations based on kinship, ethnicity, culture and religion.
- (iii) Organizations with specific political aspirations and roles.
- (iv) Organizations with occasional political roles and aspirations.

In another classification, Ekeh (1992) identified four groupings. They are:

- (i) Civic associations (i.e. trade unions, student unions, mass media etc.)
- (ii) Deviant civic associations (e.g. secret societies, fundamentalist religious movements).
- (iii) Primordial public associations (ethnic associations).
- (iv) Indigenous development associations e.g. farmers' and traditional women's union.

It is pertinent to note that the above classification shows some overlap in the geography, function, purpose and structure of these non-profit organizations. With respect to functional categorization, it is possible to extend the groups without end. Despite this, the categorizations assist in systematizing the discussion on non-profit. Garba (1997) and Omololu (1997) provide a classification of women's civil organizations in Nigeria. They opine that women based, non-profit organizations can either be autochthonous or heterochthonous women's organizations. The autochthonous are independent or self-reliant and indigenous women's organizations. They are further classified into four: professional/occupational women's groups; activist women's groups; research driven women's groups; and religious women's groups. Heterochthonous women's organizations are chapters of International Women's Organizations with many examples of this category. Most of the ideas, activities and strategies of the heterochthonous women's organizations are often imported (Olojede, 1999).

The classification provided by Garba (1997) and Omololu (1997) is incomplete as it excludes ethnic women's groups such as Ijaw women's group or Igbomina women's society which also provide forum for the articulation of women's economic and social interests from their areas of origin (Olojede, 1999). This study focused on autochthonous category of non-profit organization with emphasis on women's rights. The origin of "formal" women's non-profit organization in Nigeria can arguably be traced to the colonial era. Afigbo (1966) and Mba (1982) record the existence of women's organizations during the colonial period, which provided a platform for the articulation of women's interests. These include the Abeokuta Women's Union (AWU) in Western Nigeria, Southern Ngwa Women's Association in Eastern Nigeria and the Iyalode societies among several others.

However, it is important to note that few years following independence, the activities of women's group were arguably marginal due to intermittent military rule, yet selected activities for advancing women's related concern were carried out by wives of the military generals such as Maryam Babangida who was the most prominent of them all. In the 1980s, particularly following the United Nations declaration of 1975-1985 "Decade for Women", which was then followed by Four World Conferences on women; Mexico City 1975, Copenhagen 1980, Nairobi 1985 and 1995 Beijing Conference, women's non-profit advocacy gained momentum as women's rights questions entered into political discourse which until then was absent from the various national development plans both before and after independence.

Hence, international donor agencies that were interested in questions on women's rights in developing countries before now operated on government to government basis and later began to seek partnership with women's non-profit advocacy group, due to government inability to successfully implement project and plans, largely to corruption by government officials, bureaucratic bottleneck and lack of commitment by government officials (Arum, 2010). Nevertheless, since the return to democratic rule in 1999, there has been an increase in women's based non-profit organizations that work independently and collaboratively with peers, government and its institution, developmental agencies, and faith-based institution among others.

Studies by Mba (1982); Olojede (1995); Toyo (1997); and Salihu (1997) have examined dominant women-based interest groups in post-independence Nigeria. The studies range from those that document the various dynamics, structure, and ideologies to those that examine the rivalry, and concession among dominant women's non-profit groups in Nigeria. Mba (1982) notes that National Council of Women's Societies (NCWS) and its progenitors, Nigerian Women's Union (NWU), and Federation of Nigeria Women's Societies (FNWS) were among the first women's non-profit advocacy and organizations that gave expression to women's interests, represented women's concern, and applied pressure in obtaining public hearing on women's rights related question (Olojede, 1999). Particularly, the activities and pressure of NWU and FNWS was said to have contributed largely to the enfranchisement of women in South Eastern and South Western Nigeria.

Generally, women NGOs have been recognized as a very important tool for the empowerment of Nigerian women (Arum, 2010). However, NGOs' activity and advocacy are constrained by

finance and insecure environment from which they operate (Ngeh, 2013). In a comparative study of gender diversity between non-profit advocacy organizations and government institutions Dibia, Dibia and Okere (2015), the researchers found that NGOs are practicing diversity management more than government agencies in Nigeria particularly in Northwest, Northeast and North-central geopolitical zones. The study revealed that while about 21 percent of women and other minority groups have moved from middle management to senior management in NGOs, only 15 people of the same group have excelled in public institutions (Dibia, Dibia and Okere, 2015). Ngeh (2013) further asserts that non-profit organizations have engaged in rural development to compliment the efforts of government. Some of their contributions include human capital development and technical assistance; research, monitoring and evaluation; development of small scale agric-business; enlightenment campaigns; advocacy for the poor; and conflict resolution/peace building amongst others.

According to Olojede (1999), there are eight distinct strategies that women's non-profit advocacy use in actualising their goals. First, conventional pressure techniques which include: legal action, lobbying, electoral participation and contact with public officials and the press. Second, non-conventional pressure technique, comprising symbolic political action, protest and demonstrations and from time to time violence. The third is consciousness raising or activities designed towards intra group mobilization. The fourth strategy is the establishment of alternative institutions to provide services solely to women on health, transportation, banking, protection, legal aid, publishing and education. The fifth strategy is separatism, or the establishment of groups, institutions and networks whose objective is to provide self-centered services to communities and to prevent the replacement of goals which may be hijacked by male institutions or non-feminist ideology. The sixth strategy is called the caucus organization while the seventh strategy is the establishment of coalitions with other women's groups to emphasize shared women's interests and submerging profound differences for common goals. The final strategy is the internal congresses of women's groups with extension in other countries.

Globally, the purpose, potential, problem and pitfall of NGOs have been the focus of academic discourse, debates and controversies due to their alleged subversive activities in some countries, inherent corruption and their use as tools for other illegal activities. In Nigeria, critics argue that NGOs have become avenues for greedy individuals, groups and some government officials

to take undue advantage of funding from overseas for their personal, rather than the common good (Dibie and Atibil, 2012). Dibie, Dibie and Okere (2015) argue that because of lack of accountability of NGOs to government or other institutions and their (NGOs') insistent on autonomy, it has been difficult to assess impact and this difficulty create problems with national macro-economic development planning and coordination. This, they (the scholars) argue often lead to uneven programs and services among the various states in the country as well as the overlap of services among NGOs.

Non-profit NGOs have been criticized for lack of ability to evaluate effectiveness which most time lead to inability to document program and project or outcome. Also, they lack high motivation that is not necessarily matched by expertise and they are most time in competition rather than collaboration with similar NGOs and country programs (Anbazhagan and Surekha, 2016). Specifically, with regards to women's non-profit advocacy (Arum, 2010) argues that most women-based non-profit advocacy groups are ridden with strong elitist biases and lack of managerial capabilities; they receive subvention from government which hinders their ability to challenge government's gender-insensitive policies and are concerned about economic empowerment of women, neglecting the importance of political issues and how they affect women.

Similarly, their effectiveness has been questioned as skepticism abounds about the effectiveness of NGOs. Baehr (2009) notes that, despite the proliferation of non-governmental human rights organizations, not much is known about their effectiveness or impact, except for the fact that they tend to rely on what is commonly known as the 'mobilization of shame'. He further opines that there was no evidence that NGOs had any real influence on public policy, opinion and social change, and that everything could be explained by happenstance or a variety of other factors. While some attempt has been made to challenge this negative assessment of non-profit organizations, lack of empirical investigation, and universal and country specific analytical and evaluation tools make it difficult to either affirm or contradict the skepticism about impact of non-profit organizations.

The debate on how to measure effectiveness, role and success of non-profit advocacy remains open, yet efforts have been made to subject non-profit advocacy effectiveness to social movement evaluation models, yet the criteria vary (Des Rosiers, 2014). For instance, Dobson's

(2001) 'Citizen Handbook' highlights four criteria in assessing the success of a social movement—a moral claim, committed membership, access to resources, and leadership. It is important to note that Andre (2008) has suggestions on how to evaluate effectiveness of Ombudsman which arguably can be applied to the assessment of NGOs or non-profit advocacy. Scholars opine that one measurement criterion for assessing non-profit organizations is the capacity to concentrate on an issue that affects many people and focus more on systemic issues rather than individual mistakes. Review of extant literature from social movement literature suggests that messaging, organizational strength, access to resources, leadership, legitimacy, and worthiness are meaningful criteria for assessing NGOs (Des Rosiers, 2014). Hence, in the absence of a consensus on evaluation model for non-profit advocacy, the study draws on major themes or indicators from extant literature to determine the effectiveness of non-profit advocacy on women's rights. These include legitimacy; perception of transparency by public evidence through funding and support; public perception of their effectiveness or performance; capacity to Influence change; public support of NGOs; sharing the content of NGOs; relationship between NGO, public and government; and collaboration, confrontation or cooperation.

2.1.4 Policy Advocacy

Policy advocacy can be situated within public policy, social work and development. There are many definitions policy advocacy, but its description involves intentional activities initiated by the public to affect the policy-making process (Gen and Wright, 2013). With regards to women's rights, there are numerous intentional activities geared towards addressing women's rights and gender equality question at the national level, with implication for states within the federation to adopt them. One of such policies is the National Gender Policy. Following years of uncoordinated and gaps in national response to the women/gender question, Nigeria adopted and passed into law, the National Policy on Women, drawing inspiration and reference from global instruments such as the Beijing platform for Action (BPFA), African Union (AU) solemn Declaration for gender equality, African Protocol on People's Rights and the Rights of Women (APPRRW) the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), New Partnership for African Development's (NEPAD) policy on gender, and the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) among host of other International legal frameworks.

The National Policy on Women was replaced by the National Gender Policy in 2006. The policy amongst others is aimed at eradicating cultural, religious practices and gender-based biases which tend to reproduce disparities in gender role-relations in the Nigerian society, thereby giving a subordinate status to women compared to men. Before, the National Gender Policy in 2006 was in line with global efforts at integrating gender question with development; the country has gone through different development paradigms and hence the following gender framework -- Women in Development (WID), Women and Development (WAD), Gender in Development (GID) and more recently, Gender and Development (GAD). Primarily, the GAD's approach undergirds the Nigerian Gender Policy framework as it emphasizes both the empowerment of women through a society that is fair, just, and equitable. The new National Gender Policy Framework is structured into 3 parts with a total of 7 chapters.

The national gender policy of 2006 emerged as a result of years of outcry by stakeholders in women's rights advocacy and due to the permissive nature of gender discrimination, subordination, oppression and marginalization. The general objective for the implementation of the Nigerian National Gender Policy emerged from urgent necessity and from the situation analysis, field findings from stakeholders during national and zonal consultation, and in accordance with other global, regional as well as national best practices (Kura and Yero, 2013). The policy recognizes the significance of gender to sustainable growth and human development and in view of that seeks to promote gender sensitive and gender responsive culture in National Policy making in general, as well as promoting gender mainstreaming in all public and private policies in all organizational and community culture in Nigeria. The overriding goal of the National Gender Policy is to create and institutionalize a clear vision and framework to guide the process of developing policies, laws, and practices that will guarantee opportunities and equal rights for women and men in all spheres and structures of government, as well as in the work place, family and the community (Kura and Yero, 2013).

Overall, the aim of the gender policy is to address the systematic inequalities between women and men in the society without ignoring the biological difference between them. It hopes to achieve this by incorporating gender policy statement into all national goals and sectoral objectives, by analyzing the ways and manner that gender inequality and discrimination interferes with the achievement of local, national, regional and global policy outcomes. The

gender policy is a comprehensive policy for total national reorientation and transformation, towards poverty reduction and sustainable and equitable growth. The gender policy was articulated and formulated within the framework of the nation's extant policy framework, the National Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy (NEEDS), which is not just an economic development plan, but an all-inclusive policy for national transformation, poverty reduction and sustainable growth. The National Gender policy will therefore address other important goals within the context of NEEDS, State Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy (SEEDS) and Local Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy (LEEDS).

The policy seeks to address women's rights issues such as trafficking, marital rape, early/forced marriage, high rate of physical and sexual harassment and assault, low participation of women in paid employment, politics, leadership and decision making and different phases of harmful traditional practices against women and the girl child. However, in spite of the laudable objective of the national gender policy, it is yet to be fully implemented. In the absence of the implementation of the national gender policy, states within the federation have developed laws, policies and declarations to deal with gender and women issues within their respective jurisdictions. Lagos and Ogun States which are the adopted states in this study are no exception.

2.1.5 E-Advocacy

Electronic Advocacy represents a significant transition in advocacy practice and one that has grown meaningfully in recent years (McNutt, 2000; Hick and McNutt, 2002). It refers to use of high technology to influence the decision-making process of government and its public institutions (Fitzgerald and McNutt, 1999; McNutt and Boland, 1999; Hick and McNutt, 2002;). As a strategic use of ICT by individuals or movements to press for policy change (Tactical Tech Strategy Paper, (TTSP) 2011), it is also a strategic movement of information within and among organizations, communities, and individuals, an idea-pioneered ICT/technology devices such as computers and mobile phones (Tactical Tech Strategy Paper 2011).

E-advocacy emerges out of traditional advocacy and not an alternative to it. Tactical Technology Collective (also known as Tactical Tech), a non-profit technology assistance provider based in Amsterdam defines e-advocacy as a sequence of gathering information, handling, and dissemination of information, followed by action. TTC argue that e-advocacy goes beyond the collection of information but when it occurs when information moves; it is being

transferred, analyzed, decoded, and processed among individuals. Yet, it is not necessary about the movement of information, although movement in many situations greatly facilitates it. The crux of e-advocacy is not the technology itself, but the purpose for which it is used. The techniques of e-advocacy is to help advocates to more effectively achieve their goals of monitoring the implementation of current policy, organizing citizens to lobby policymakers directly and raising awareness of the need to change faulty policy (Tactical Tech Strategy Paper 2011).

Techniques used in E-advocacy range from electronic mail to coordinated policy influence efforts within the organization, wireless, on-line petitions, use of chat rooms, meet up, blogs, websites, databases, listservs, broadcast fax, banner Ads, short message service and instant messaging and wireless, video, photography, and even ringtones, targeting and mapping software, on-line survey, teleconferencing, online fundraising, (Mcnutt, 2008). Its key insight is that e-advocacy tools make advocates more effective by communicating their policy change message to a mass audience at low cost. This "audience" can either be the members or group in a campaign for policy change who are recruited using ICT, or the lobbying targets of a campaign who receive the policy change message through ICT (Tactical Tech Strategy Paper 2011).

Electronic Advocacy provides a competitive advantage for advocacy groups that make use of it. It offers substantially lower costs, the promise of involving new groups of supporters, and the ability to advocate over distance, and so forth (Hick and McNutt, 2002). According to FOR CHANGE, the American NGO in their recently-published guide titled "Your Guide to the E-Advocacy Revolution", the group states that e-advocacy "expands the possibilities for framing policy problems for a wide audience: mobilizing supporters to take action on behalf of a campaign, facilitating audience engagement and policy solutions, and influencing the media to help shape public opinion (Chandler and Johnson, 2007).

The internet and other communications technologies such as social media and communication software such as skype, Imo e.t.c. are revolutionizing the way individuals communicate, coordinate, and act across the world. Also, websites, mobile phones and SMS ("short message service", or "text messages"), are "democratizing" the production and consumption of information, and allowing the possibility of new forms of flexible, rapid citizen organizing

outside existing power structures (Tactical Tech Strategy Paper, 2011). This empowerment according to TTSP is made possible by E-advocacy which changes the way we work, socialize, shop, and inform ourselves. Because ICT allows citizens to, discuss their political views, watch their governments and organize around issues that concern them, it is equally powerful as a political tool.

E-Advocacy is the future of social change (Tactical Tech Strategy Paper, 2011). Events since the beginning of this decade have invigorated an already thriving interest in social media's ability to facilitate civic engagement and collective action. The political uprisings in Tunisia, Libya, and Egypt in 2011 saw activists posting on Facebook and Twitter. Obar, Zube and Lampe, (2012) in their study reports that in August 2011, members of the Parliament in London called for the temporary shut down of Blackberry's instant messaging service as rioters were allegedly using the service to coordinate strikes. They further report that following the 2010 mid-term elections in the United States, Facebook reported that 74% of House candidates and 81% of Senatorial candidates with more Facebook fans than their opponents won their races. Also, in February 2011, the Tea Party launched its very own Facebook-esque social media site called the "Freedom Connector," which had already been used to mobilize more than one hundred thousand Americans during the presidential race. The recent report that Facebook and Twitter played a significant role in the victory of the United States President, Donald Trump, has sparked off greater interests (Laposwk, 2016; Bort, 2016).

Proponents of social media's democratizing function laud its ability to empower and connect individuals as well as groups. Particularly, emphasis is on how these social media technologies contribute to "the ease and speed with which a group can be mobilized, and how "we are living in the middle of a remarkable increase in our ability to share, take collective action, collaborate with one another, all outside the framework of traditional institutions and organizations (Obar, Zube, and Lampe, 2012). Critics on the other hand suggest that the enthusiasm and anecdotal evidence may actually be concealing the reality that social media do little to effect change and strengthen social movements. Worse yet, there are those who suggest a negative effect.

Morozov (2011) posits that those (in the West particularly) have a "net delusion" that is defined by Internet-centrism and cyber-utopianism that obscure an evolving Internet landscape that may actually stall or hinder democratic possibilities. In terms of social media's ability to strengthen

social movements, critics have suggested that these social technologies may in fact be promoting a form of “clicktivism” or “slacktivism” instead of activism, fail to mobilize a thousand people in the street to actually effect change and do little more than promote “weak ties,” (Obar, Zube, and Lampe, 2012).

If works on e-advocacy in the Global South is rare, it probably and practically does not exist in the case of Nigeria (Tactical Tech Strategy Paper, 2011). Thus, the study relies on studies of advocacy from the global North. The few studies in the field of e-advocacy synthesize multiple discipline or fields and areas of expertise in order to develop the new field of e-advocacy in the global South. In addition, because e-advocacy has yet to be adopted in much of the global South, much of research rests upon predicting the feasibility of future e-advocacy efforts rather than evaluating current activity (Tactical Tech Strategy Paper, 2011). A portion of this study explored the use of Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, LinkedIn, blogs, wikis, and mobile applications (e.g. SMS) by advocacy groups and individuals in the promotion and protection of rights of women’s right. The study assessed how advocacy groups and individual use ICT for advocacy and the extent to which social media can facilitate civic engagement and collective action required for the actualization of women’s rights.

2.1.6 Global History of Women’s Rights Movement

The word ‘woman’ has assumed a conceptual shift and accumulated new usages, namely because of transgender, gender fluid, gender bending, gender blending, pangender, gender and bigender (Umahi, 2012). However, despite the contestation over the word ‘woman’, it has been defined to mean “an adult female of the human race: a wife, a mistress... the female sex” (Alewo and Olong, 2012). The Women’s Rights Protocol (2003) defines ‘Woman’, to mean “persons of the female gender, including girls” (Alewo and Olong, 2012). The term “woman” can be said to be an adult female, physically weaker than the man, exhibiting feminine characteristics quite distinctive from the opposite sex.

Also, the term ‘Right’ has been subjected to a lot of debate in law, politics and human rights. This is because what is right in a context may be different in another. This accounts for the reason behind the debate on the universality vs. cultural relativism of human right. This is because every continent, culture, and group of people defines rights according to their norms, values, history and ethics that they hold sacred (Fox, 1998). Despite this controversy, right is

defined as ‘a power, privilege or immunity, guaranteed under a constitution, status or decisional laws or claimed as a respect of long usage’ (Dada, 2014). Put together, the concept of women’s rights refers to women’s aspiration for freedom, equality, and equity, participation in public life, respect, and dignity. The discourse on rights of Women’s right owe its origin to the 20th century. Although, before the 20th century, there has been a varying movement for women’s right under varying names and umbrellas, however, the 20th century marked the period of the internationalisation of women’s struggle across the various continents.

It is very difficult, if not impossible, to provide a holistic history of women’s rights for numerous reasons. First reason is because the history of women’s right is interwoven with the history of feminism. The perspective on women’s rights incorporates all the types of feminism that emerged in the late twentieth century (Howard-Hassmann, 2011). The term feminism can be used to describe a political, cultural or economic movement aimed at establishing equal rights and legal protection for women; and since women’s rights cut across this context, the history of feminism is essential to understand the evolution of international women’s rights. Secondly, the discourse of women’s rights developed along various themes and issues across various continents at different historical epochs. In other words, what constitutes the content of the struggle for women’s rights in Africa is different from that of Europe and other parts of the world. For instance, in Western Europe and the United States of America, history of women’s rights evolved through three distinct stages: basic economic rights were first, political rights came next, and equal treatment in the labour market and greater control over their own body ultimately followed (Doepke, Tertilt, and Voena, 2012). In contrast, in most African countries women gained formal political rights (as part of the end of colonialism) before obtaining economic rights and subsequently aspiring for the sexual and reproductive rights. Thus, the history of women’s right is as varied as the history of the various continents and cultures.

The internationalisation of women’s rights can be traced to post 1945 era with the establishment of United Nations, although several women’s right movements and organisations existed in pre-1945. However, the post-1945 era was significant for several reasons. First, the United Nations was established in 1945 and her global mission of emancipation included both sexes. Secondly, the establishment of the UN marked the second attempt of organised and institutionalised inter-governmental collaboration in a form that was unprecedented. Thirdly, it marked the beginning

of a new internationalisation of the principle of self-determination which later allowed for other non-western nations to be part of the international community. Next, since post-1945, issues on women's rights have remained on the front burner of global agenda. For instance, the Goal 5 of the United Nations' *Sustainable Development Goals* centres on achieving *gender* equality and empowering all women and girls. Also, the era heralded the establishment of institutions such as UNWOMEN, Commission on the Status of Women (CSW), platforms through which issues on women's rights could be addressed. Therefore, this work addressed the origin of women's rights within the organisation of the United Nations and its women affiliated agency.

The United Nation was established in the aftermath of World War II as an international institution with the aim of promoting world peace, equality and human rights. Women played a critical role in the formation of UN, little wonder that issues of women's rights were directly and indirectly woven into the foundation of the organisation. Pietilä (2007) observes that women's participation also influences the wording of the preamble of the UN Charter to include equality for all including men and women. Women monitored the drafting of the Declaration paragraph-by-paragraph in order to prevent the inclusion of any sexist phrases. They also championed the establishment of women agency within the UN such as the Commission on the Status of Women (CSW) as an independent body and the subsequent expansion of its mandate by the Economic, Social and Cultural (ECOSOC) rights. Skard (2008) revealed that over the years CSW activities have expanded to include activities such as development, and peace; advocating equality, reviewing and appraising progress at the national, regional and international levels and monitoring the implementation of internationally-agreed measures for the advancement of women. This expansion was based on experiences and outcomes of the 1975 International Women's Year, the 1976-85 United Nations' Decade for Women and the 1985 Nairobi Conference (Skard, 2008).

According to the United Nations' Blue Book, the evolution of women's rights within the structure of the UN is often believed to have evolved through four distinctive stages namely, securing the legal foundations of equality (from 1945-1962); recognizing women's role in development (from 1963-1975); the UN Decade for Women (1976-1985); and "Towards Equality, Development and Peace" (from 1986 onwards). These four distinctive stages were characterised by different issues that affected women, ranging from women's political and

economic rights to sexual and reproductive rights of women. Since then, women's issues have occupied a germane place in the UN and by extension the world (UN, 1996).

In Africa and specifically Nigeria, the history of women's rights is a contested one. Some argue that women's rights are a western concept because women have always had "equal" participation along their male counterpart in African history. In other words, the agitation for women's rights came with the introduction of colonialism which alienated women from the public life. Others are of the opinion that women's rights movements have always existed in Africa in some form before the advent of colonialism and other western influence. According to Kato (2003: 3 cited in Abdulahi, Adekeye and Shehu, 2011), in Tuareg's culture:

The aristocratic powers are passed on by maternal descent. [A Tuareg woman] plays the central role all the way from marriage, children's education even to the home management. Tuareg women were entitled to the property. Everything that materialises the family unit belongs to her, starting with the tent and its content. In the case of separation, the man is only entitled to his pomp, and that is in the strict sense of the term. It is he who goes away from home leaving it intact. Without any exaggeration, the Tuareg man is perceived here as a simple parent and a supplier of subsistence material means. He faces danger by virtue of his physical shape and natural tendency. All the achievements gained through his wild fight against nature are entrusted to the subtle intelligence women in order to manage them and preserve them from loss (cited in Abdulahi, Adekeye and Shehu, 2011),

Given the history and the peculiarities along which advocacy on women's rights started in different continents, this work argues that women's rights or activism in Africa and particularly Nigeria assumed a formal stance in the wake of nationalist struggle in the first half of the 20th century, and the struggle for democracy, and human rights and peace after the demise of imperial rule in 1960. It is intricately connected with the rise of educated women in the modern state of Nigeria under colonial rule and violence of military rule characteristic of the postcolonial era. Advocacy on women's rights in Nigeria has focused on varying themes: women's legal and political rights, violence, reproductive rights and abortion, sexual liberty, employment and discrimination, political participation and representation.

2. 1.7 Women's Rights in Nigeria

The discourse of women's rights is a perennial issue that has attracted the attention of scholars, advocates and international institutions because women comprise the most oppressed, exploited marginalised and underprivileged group, powerless and often time excluded from all

developmental processes including politics (Jaja, 2011). Similarly, global attention has been drawn to women issues because it has been observed that development or human progress is impossible without the utilisation of the potential of half of the human capital which constitutes mostly women. Former Secretary-General of the United Nations, Boutros Boutros Ghali was quoted as saying that:

“Without progress in the situation of women, there can be no true social development. Human rights are not worthy of the name if they exclude the female half of humanity. Therefore, the struggle for women equality is part of the struggle for a better life for all human beings and for all societies” (Cited in Kolawole, Abubakar, Owonibi, and Adebayo, 2012).

There are varying issues that affect women’s right and this study has categorised them into two namely, women’s political and civil rights and economic and social cultural rights. Women’s civil and political rights, economic, social and cultural rights (ECOSOC) were selected because the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) recognized two sets of human rights, i.e civil and political rights (CPR), as well as economic, social and cultural rights (ECOSOC). Also, two rights are documented in two separate international legal frameworks or covenant namely the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR or ‘the Covenant’). The two treaties constitute the core of the international human rights and the universality, indivisibility, interdependence and interrelatedness of all human rights protected in the two covenants (Ssenyonjo, 2009).

2.1.8 International Legal Frameworks and Women’s Rights

There are numerous international legal frameworks on human rights and specifically women’s rights. They include Convention on the Political Rights of Women (1952), the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1966), the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1966), the Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (1967), and the Declaration on the Protection of Women and Children in Emergency and Armed Conflict (1974). Others are the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (1979), the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women (1993), the Convention on Consent to Marriage (1958) and the convention on Minimum Age for Marriage and Registration of Marriage (1964). All of these policies, declarations, protocols and covenants have varying provisions for the promotion and protection

of women's rights. This study focused on the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1966), and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1966) and made references to other frameworks where necessary. It is important to note that although these two covenants apply to both genders, the need for their application to women is becoming increasingly important.

2.1.9 International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR)

The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) is one of the International Bill of Human Rights, along with the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR). The treaty was adopted by the United Nations' General Assembly on 16 December 1966 and came into force on 23 March, 1976. The treaty encompasses various issues ranging from civil and political rights of individuals, including the right to life and freedom of speech, to freedom of assembly, freedom of religion, electoral rights and rights to due process and a fair trial. As at February 2017, the Covenant had 169 parties and six more signatories without ratification. Nigeria ratified the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) on 29 July 1993.

Article 25 states that:

Every citizen shall have the right and the opportunity, without any of the distinctions mentioned in article 2 and without unreasonable restrictions:

- (a) To take part in the conduct of public affairs, directly or through freely chosen representatives;
- (b) To vote and to be elected at genuine periodic elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret ballot, guaranteeing the free expression of the will of the electors;
- (c) To have access, on general terms of equality, to public service in his country.

While Article 26 states:

All persons are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to the equal protection of the law. In this respect, the law shall prohibit any discrimination and guarantee to all persons equal and effective protection against discrimination on any ground such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status.

The next section focuses on the provision of the covenant vis-a-vis the experience of Nigerian women's civil and political rights.

2.1.10 Women's Political and Civil Rights in Nigeria

Women's political and civil rights include the right to vote in all elections and to be eligible for election to all publicly elected bodies, to take part in non-governmental organizations and associations concerned with the public life of nation-state and to participate in the formulation of government policy and the implementation thereof (Langley, 1987). Women's political rights are an integral and inseparable part of their human right (Innocent and Nwaoha, 2014). The studies of Agbalajobi (2010); Adefi and Aladi (2012); Abegunde (2014); Ayeni and Ajibogun (2013); Asaju and Adagba (2013); Erunke and Abdul (2013); Kolawole, Abubakar, Owonibi, and Adebayo (2012); Ogbogu (2012); Okoronkwo-Chukwu (2013); Okpalaobi, (2011); Ngara and Ayabam, 2013; and Oni and Segun (2012); examine the political rights of women vis-a-vis their rights to be voted for. All the studies found women to be underrepresented in politics and national development.

The participation of women in elective offices is grossly limited despite the fact that franchise was given to them in Eastern, Western, and Northern Nigeria in 1954, 1958, and 1976, respectively (Okome, 2003). Agbalajobi (2010); Adefi, and Aladi (2012) examined the issues that hinder equal participation and representation of women alongside their male counterpart. In particular, Agbalajobi (2010) observed that although women's participation in politics has increased, their representation is still low in elective position. This underrepresentation in politics has been adduced to factors such as abuse of religious and traditional practices, patriarchal societal structures in which economic, political and social power are dominated by men, persistent cultural stereotype, and the historical antecedent of women as followers of male political leaders. Furthermore, Adefi and Aladi (2012) also observed that the representation of women in politics has been hindered by the nature of the Nigeria politics which is often characterized by electoral and post-electoral violence, the tax declaration policy required by the electoral body in order to contest election, the inability or unwillingness of the Nigerian leadership to domesticate several international law requiring full representation of women and the enmity or antagonistic posture of women towards one another.

Supporting the case of enmity or antagonistic attitude of women to one-another, Okpalaobi (2011) cited the incidence at the presidential primary of the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP)

held on the 16th January 2011, where three candidates were nominated for the primary, two male, and one female. Of the 4,000 delegates for the primary election, women numbered up to 2,000 and yet, the only female candidate in the primary election, Sarah Jubril got only one vote which was her vote despite the presence of 2,000 women delegates. This factor of women being enemies of one another is further exacerbated by factors like jealousy, envy, and other problems associated with interpersonal relations common with women. More so, most women would rather vote or support men to win an election than vote their fellow women in spite of their numerical strength (Ngara and Ayamba, 2013).

Also, in 2015 elections, despite the advocacy of women's groups for improved representation of women in politics, the only woman in the presidential race won fewer votes compared to the male candidates. The British Council's report (2012) on "Gender in Nigeria" also observed that women's participation in politics is also hindered by lack of finance, low-level education, interpersonal skills and knowledge; lack of capacity in political, and lack of public speaking skills: organising and coordinating campaign, advocacy, and negotiation. It is important to note that the report of the British Council (2012) and the works of Agbalajobi (2010); Adefi and Aladi (2012); and Okpalaobi (2011) corroborate those of Ogbogu (2012), Erunke, Esidene and Abdul (2013); Ngara and Ayamba(2013); Gberevbie and Ovasogie (2013); Abegunde (2014); Nwabunkeonye (2014); Oni and Segun (2012); Olufade (2013); and Ekpe, Eja and John (2014). They all agreed that discriminatory socio-cultural and religious practices, unhealthy political environment, lack of finance, political parties' discrimination; lack of family support, wrong perception of women in politics; indigenization of women-political aspirants; lack of support from fellow women and media; political violence with the use of derogatory names; negative labeling, and abusive language and expressions often limit women's civil and political rights.

Jaja (2011) further noted that women's civil and political rights in terms of participation and representation in politics are also suppressed due to the absence of government's supportive and definitive laws that encourage women to participate in politics. Nwabunkeonye (2014) asserted that the paucity of women in executive councils of many political parties limits their ability to vote for who gets to be finally nominated for election in parties' primary elections. This is reflected in the fact that the executive council of most political party is dominated by men with the exception of insignificant posts of ex-officio members and women leaders whose role is to

mobilize womenfolk to vote for men. Also, in a study by Oni and Joshua (2012), the scholars identified factors that hinder women's participation in politics specifically in Southwest states of Ogun and Lagos states to include socio-economic, cultural heritage, political acrimony and institutional designs. Specifically, Oni and Joshua noted the acrimonious patrimonial system of political "godfatherism", thuggery and "gangsterism" and institutional designs such as lack of gender electoral quota systems and constitutional provision for equal gender representation in parties' political nomination, the practice of majority electoral system instead of proportional representation amongst others as limit women's participation in the two states.

Similarly, the study by Oni and Joshua (2012) was consistent with another study by Fayomi (2015) on women's participation in Ogun State. Also, a cross-sectional study of over 700 respondents which consist of female politicians, activists, professionals and members of dominant political parties drawn from the 36 states in Nigeria by Ogbogu (2012) on the challenges to women's participation in politics revealed that "the greatest factor that affects women's political participation is exclusion from informal political party networks (91.4%)". This is exacerbated by the problem of patriarchy and cultural barriers (66.4%), lack of adequate mechanisms for monitoring electoral outcomes and protecting women's mandate (56.4%), the multiple roles of women (64.2%), finance (63.5%), education/training (55.9%). Others are lack of mentors (21.4%) and religion (17.1%). Respondents in the study all attributed marginalization in politics to the male dominant structure of the polity. In other words, political parties in Nigeria are an extension of old boys' association. One respondent particularly said

Because of the structures of the political parties with many sub-groups within each one, women do not get a chance to network nor build relational ties that can advance them in politics.... Also, the men exhibit a chauvinistic disposition and affirm that decision-making positions are exclusively for men, while women are to be instructed. This puts women off (Ogbogu 2012:188).

Nwabunkeonye (2014) agreed with Ogbogu's position that women's participation in politics is not only limited by male dominant structure of political party, but also to the chauvinist interpretation of culture, misinterpretation of religious text and sharp practices of "zone out" and "step down" further hinder women's participation. Nwabunkeonye further notes that the "zone out" is an exclusion technique through which political party "zones out" or outsource the seat of a female aspirant to a constituency where she is not considered a native, while "step-down"

occurs where a female candidate who evidently has scaled through party nomination and is qualified to contest an election is asked to step down for a male candidate. This is further exacerbated by the negative perception of women in politics in which they are referred to as stubborn people, “loose” women (prostitutes/wayward), slots, too domineering, “cultural rebellious” people.

Fundamentally, the marginalization of women in politics and specifically party leadership is not recent but was present in colonial politics. For instance, while colonial political parties such as Action Group (AG) and the National Council of Nigerian Citizens (NCNC) allowed women’s wings in their parties, yet, no women occupied the top echelon of the parties where decisions were made (Oluwole, 2014). Also, in the executive positions of the political parties that existed during the botched third republic in 1993, women had only 4% representation. Thus, party politics and governance throughout post-colonial Nigeria has been marked by a striking exclusion and marginalization of women (Innocent and Nwaoha, 2014).

It is instructive to note that all the above impediments to women’s representation in politics represent the immediate cause of their political marginalization. Some scholars are of the view that colonialism altered the gender balance that had always existed in pre-colonial Nigerian societies or cultures, while some scholars opine that the Nigerian society since pre-colonial has been patriarchal and unfavorable to women. These scholars have argued that women’s rights to political office has not always been respected except in few cases and in some societies where notable and historically celebrated women-leaders arose such as Queen Amina of Zauzau, Iyalode Efunsetan Aniwura of Ibadan, Princess Moremi of Ife, Princess Inikpi of Igala and Emotan of Benin, are readily cited examples of women that occupied the public space in Nigeria pre-colonial societies (Yetunde, 2008). Importantly, the former perspective happens to have been popularized than the latter.

Scholars have argued that pre-colonial African societies and specifically pre-colonial Nigeria placed great value on women with regards to various roles and functions (as mothers, daughters, wives, or sisters) and that colonialism altered the gender architecture in pre-colonial African societies. For instance, most of the African and especially Nigeria traditional pantheons comprised both men and women deities. The female deities included the ‘Oya’ in Osun State

which is still worshiped till today and has a yearly festival that attracts international participants; Iyemoja as well as other goddesses such as the river goddess, the earth goddess as well as the goddess of fertility (Okome, 2003; Kolawole, Abubakar, Owonibi, Adebayo, 2012). In other words, women played a major part in the religious life which in most cases was linked with the political life of pre-colonial African societies.

Fayomi and Ajayi (2015) noted that in the western part of Yoruba kingdom, one of the renowned women was Efunsetan Aniwura who later emerged as the *Iyalode* or leader of the women in Ibadan. Her business acumen, as well as her charisma, were noted to have given her undisputed influence not only in commerce but also in politics and social life. Madam Tinubu was also powerful that she supplied arms to Egba people in the 19th century. In traditional Yoruba states, women held high political offices like the *Iyaloja*, *Iyalode*, *Iyalaje* and even the office of the Oba, and their political impacts in such societies were variously felt (Omodia, Erunke, Esidene, Abdul, 2013). The city of Zaria in modern Northern Nigeria was founded by a woman (Queen Bakwa Turuku) in the 16th century. She was succeeded by the renowned female leader Amina, who built walls to protect the city of Zaria, and then expanded its boundary and influence beyond Bauchi, and commanded tributes from Kano and Katsina (Ogun and Martins, 2010). Also, in Hausa land, there are records of women who held titles and offices like the Iya, Magajiya and Mardani (Ezegbe and Akubue, 2012).

Importantly, in the southwest where the two adopted states for this study are located, the nature of advocacy and women's rights especially among the Yoruba who dominate the region remain highly contested. While some scholars opine that activism or advocacy on women's rights was non-existent because the society was not gendered in the western sense of anatomy and social construction, Oyewumi Oyeronke in one of her most celebrated and controversial book "The Invention of Women: Making an African Sense of Western Gender Discourses (1997)" asserts that Yoruba family is non-gendered. Subsequently, in another book in 2002 titled "Conceptualizing Gender: The Eurocentric Foundations of Feminist Concepts and the Challenge of African Epistemologies," Oyewunmi made two central arguments. She observed mark of gender in the Yoruba language and established no social distinctions in terms of anatomical difference in Yoruba's social institutions and practices (Salawu 2011).

Contrary to Oyewunmi's argument, scholars like Segato (2001), Bakare-Yusuf (2004), and Adesuyi, (2014) have not only argued otherwise, but they have also produced evidence that suggest that not only is Yoruba society in Nigeria gendered, but African culture and society in general is gendered. Scholars have argued that all societies and cultures have some gender issues that often result in revolt, protest, activism, and resistance, all of which constitute one form of advocacy or the other. The protests held by women today can therefore be seen as a thriving aspect of female strength, power, and importance in the Yorùbá culture that has persisted through much turmoil and change over time (Mathew, 2014).

Particularly, on the nature of women's rights especially civil and political rights, there are contending arguments on the status of women's rights within the political sphere of Yoruba society in pre-colonial Lagos and Ogun States. While some argue that women are fully represented and their rights respected, other scholars opine that women are marginalized, discriminated against, underrepresented and dehumanized in worst scenarios. With regard to the latter argument, Akintan, (2013) has documented the very bleak treatment of women in the Yoruba culture of southwest Nigeria in the pre-colonial era. In terms of civil and political rights, he observed that women are the most marginalized in Yoruba society: they are placed under the authority of men and are denied any leadership role, especially in political affairs. He noted further that among the Yoruba, women's activities are subordinate to those of men with established male dominance at the expense of the female folk, who could be disposed of at will. He pertinently said:

Authority in the home rest with the husband who is responsible for all decisions in the family. The woman is to abide by whatever decision the husband makes. Thus, the inequality of men and women is clearly stressed. Therefore, for women to claim equality with men is an aberration. In Yoruba society, there is a preference for male children over female children. This preference is due to cultural biases which regard male children as heirs to the father's property. They are also regarded as the agent A Yoruba woman has no right to inheritance; she herself can be inherited at the death of her husband. She may be asked to eat a particular food for a certain period of time, or she may be asked to observe a period of mourning ranging from forty days to one year as the case may be. Women are also barred from participating in certain traditional festivals (Akintan, 2013:58).

However, despite the oppressive nature of Yoruba culture towards women, Akintan still observed that some women played an important role in king making and some occupy important

positions in the Osugbo, the highest legislative council among the Yoruba. In the Osugbo, a woman occupies the position of Erelu as her participation in this council is very important and her consent is sacrosanct in any decision making (Akintan, 2013). However, Denzer, (1994) has opined contrary to Akintan's assertion that 19th century's accounts and oral records reveal that Nigerian women actively participated in the social, economic, and political development of their societies. Particularly, Yoruba women played germane roles within their families and communities and they occupied a pivotal place in the local and state economy--organizing household industries, operating the local market system, and establishing long-distance trade networks. In politics, traditions and few documented history have it that women founded kingdoms and communities, occasionally wielded political authority as rulers, acted as regents, sat on the king's councils, held political offices, intrigued in palace politics, helped to make and unmake kings, served as go-betweens in diplomatic relations, and safeguarded their towns when their menfolk waged war elsewhere. They conducted key rituals to maintain the spiritual well-being of kings and kingdoms as well as of their own families and communities.

According to Awe (1977) and Mba (1982), women in southwest, Nigeria possessed a long and rich history of collective organization through which they articulated and protected their interests from pre-colonial times onward (cited in Johnson, 1982). For instance, Ajayi (2007) opines that in Yoruba-speaking, Southwest-Nigeria, there were notable women such as the "Erelus", "Ayabas" and "Oloris" (King's wives), "Iyalodes" (Women's Leader), "Iyalajes" (Market Women's Leader), "Yeye Obas" (King's Mother) and "Iya Olosas" (goddess priests). Others were the Moremi of Ife, Efunsetan of Ibadan and Emotan. In the pre-colonial period, there were a number of great women such as Queen Amina of Zaria, Princess Moremi of Ife, Iyalode Efunsetan Aniwura of Ibadan, Princess Inikpi of Igala and Emotan of Benin (Olalere, 2015).

Mba reveals examples of women in Yorubaland (the Western part of Nigeria) who ruled as kings between the 16th and 17th centuries. These women possessed ruling powers and held authoritative positions as male kings. Examples of women-Obas (kings) include the lobun of Ondo, a "powerful woman chief who had equivalent power and received same treatment as the male king and Ooni Luwo of Ile-Ife who was known for her tyrannical reign. Other positions include the "Ayaba and Oloris (King's wives), *Yeye Obas* (King's mother), *Iyaoloshas* (goddess priests) Iyalodes (Women's leaders), and Iyalajes (Market Women's Leaders) (Adu, 2008). Key

female-titled officials performed essential duties in the selection, coronation, spiritual maintenance, and funeral rites of the oba. Among the most important of them were the iya oba (the oba's official mother), the iya-igbon (the mother of the crown prince), the obagunte (the oba's representative in the ogboni society), the eni-oja (the supervisor of the oba's market), and the priestesses of the royal shrines, particularly the iya naso (head of the Shango cult) and the iya nkolará (a priestess belonging to the ogboni society) (Denzer, 1994). Yoruba women held positions that gave them similar responsibilities as men and were recognized as absence of their positions would have resulted into a developmental crisis for their societies (Adu, 2008). That was why Yoruba women occupied a significant place in precolonial political organization, religion, family life, and the economy (Denzer, 1994).

In religious life, women who performed extra-ordinary feats in Yoruba society were accorded the status of goddesses. Notable among these were Moremi who single-handedly delivered her people (the Ife) from Igbo oppression by sacrificing Oluorogbo, her only son; Osun, Orisa-Okó (Yemowo, Obatalá's wife), Oso-Usi, Yemule, Yemoji, Yemoja were all female goddesses. Women constitute the hierarchy of officials in these cults (Akintan: 2013). Also, contrary to popular claim, Yoruba marriage did not confine women strictly to domestic roles, but offered them new frontiers for the exercise of power and influence in their communities. Denzer (1994:5-6) states that Yoruba women had important legal rights in their natal homes:

They could count on their father's people for financial assistance in their trading ventures as well as protection in cases of marital discord. Such rights extended to their children, ensuring their children protection and refuge should conflict or trouble threatens their security in their mother's husband's home. Tradition, eyewitness accounts, and official records contain many examples of exiled rulers or rival contenders for power seeking protection and support from their mother's people.

Denzer further revealed that besides the few who held power as rulers, women wielded power and authority throughout the Yoruba kingdoms in numerous ways. Their roles differed greatly from from century to century and place to place. King's sisters, king's wives, Queen mothers, priestesses, and market women's leaders occupied a variety of titled offices through which they

influenced domestic politics and foreign affairs either directly or indirectly (Denzler, 1994). At all levels of government then, women had the right to participate in community meetings and, through their female representatives, participated in government in ways not normally open to their contemporaries in Europe and North America.

Oyewunmi (1997) has said that in term of economic rights in pre-colonial Yoruba society, markets were largely managed by women and long-distance trading among the Yoruba was female-dominated, even to the realm of public administration; women's presence in the political sphere up to the office of the Alaâfin of Oyo--the political head of the Oyo Kingdom was significant. In fact, several lower-level political functionaries (Baálè) were women as well (Adesina, 2010). Moreso, the political history of the Ibadan sub-segment of the Yoruba shows that women were active players in the senior political offices as represented by Iyálóde. History further suggests women were anafemale and anamale ìlàrí, the political functionaries who also act as body guards to the Alaâfin. Thus, women were an intricate part of pre-colonial societies. The table below reveals the list of legendary female leaders in Nigeria's pre-colonial history.

Table 2.1: List of Female Traditional Rulers in Pre-colonial days

S/N	Name	Town/ Village	LGA	State	Type of Rule	Date
1	Luwo Gbadiaya	Ife	Ife Central L.G.	Osun	Ooni of Ife	Pre-colonial days
2	Iyayun	Oyo	Oyo L.G.	Oyo	Alaafin	Pre-colonial days
3	Orompoto	Oyo	Oyo L.G.	Oyo	Alaafin	Pre-colonial days
4	Jomijomi	Oyo	Oyo L.G.	Oyo	Alaafin	Pre-colonial days
5	Jepojepo	Oyo	Oyo L.G.	Oyo	Alaafin	Pre-colonial days
6	Queen Amina	Zauzau		Zaria	Emir	Pre-colonial days
7	Daura	Daura	Daura Emirate	Katsina	Queen	Pre-colonial days

8	Kofono	Daura	Daura Emirate	Katsina	Queen	Pre-colonial days
9	Eye-moi	Akure	Akure	Ondo	Regent-Monarch	Pre-colonial days 1705-1735 AD
10	Ayo-ero	Akure	Akure	Ondo	Regent-Monarch	Pre-colonial days 1850-51 AD
11	Gulfano	Daura	Daura Emirate	Katsina	Queen	Pre-colonial days
12	Yawano	Daura	Daura Emirate	Katsina	Queen	Pre-colonial days
13	Yakania	Daura	Daura Emirate	Katsina	Queen	Pre-colonial days
14	Walsam	Daura	Daura Emirate	Katsina	Queen	Pre-colonial days
15	Cadar	Daura	Daura Emirate	Katsina	Queen	Pre-colonial days
16	Agagri	Daura	Daura Emirate	Katsina	Queen	Pre-colonial days

Source: Kolawole, Abubakar, Owonibi and Abayomi (2012)

Hence, colonialism altered the pre-colonial gender relations which placed women at the centre of socio-political and economic spheres of the society because it was created and sustained almost exclusively by men. The British system of indirect rule made use of men who were known as paramount chiefs thus disrupting the role of women in public life. The system also entrenched metropolitan ideas which viewed women's place as the home and courtyard. Therefore, the European type of patriarchy imported to Nigeria (as elsewhere in Africa) did not prepare women for public roles and the reconfiguration of precolonial economy to meet colonial ideals and idea of global and modern commerce practically eliminated or undermined the economic role that women had for centuries. As Ikpe (2004) observes, "colonialism did nothing to deviate from the preclusion of women from the public sphere and their limitation in the economic sphere. Colonialism itself was a male-dominated venture as all colonial officers were male". Okome (2003) asserts further that the root of gender inequality may have an antecedent in the pre-colonial societies with predominantly male dominant social system, however, its institutionalization as a legal structure began during the colonial rules. Okome further speaks further:

The imposition of colonialism involved the construction of a system where women had less opportunity to participate in administration. In addition, an economic system was instituted where men had more opportunities than women for meaningful participation, a legal system was introduced wherein women lost some of the benefits open to them in pre-colonial societies, and a religious system

was imposed which deprived women of their pre-colonial power and authority (‘Okome, 2003:42).

It is further noted that the western culture of male superiority was evident in British policies in her colonies where women were excluded from constitutional development. For instance, the 1922 Sir Hugh Clifford Constitution disenfranchised women and limited the participation of adult male to the wealthy (Agbalajobi, 2010). Gberevie and Ovasogie (2013) argue that colonialism was the root cause of women marginalization in present political landscape in Nigeria as the society prepares boys rather than girls for service. The scholars further note that colonial masters prepared boys to be able to qualify for employment as clerks, interpreters, teachers, catechists, evangelists, stewards and cooks for government offices, commercial houses and missionaries. With the coming of the colonialists, the political and economic fortunes of the Nigerian women nosedived because of the newly created social order that accompanied colonialism and imperialism (Abdullahi, Adekeye and Shehu, 2011).

Consequently, two major colonial policies amongst others helped to promote patriarchy in Nigerian politics. One, the colonialists considered “only men to be active in the public sphere and earn a living to support their families” (Assie- Lumuba, 1996 cited in Awofeso and Odeyemi, 2014). Aderinto (2010) notes that the biased disposition of the colonial government to female education in which men were prepared for public service and leadership while women received instructions mainly in domestic vocation because of the imported Victorian notion that they were best suited for the domestic sphere played a role in women’s representation in public service. As such, few educational opportunities and programs under the colonial administration were reserved for only African males who were later recruited into colonial civil service and commercial houses. This practice gave African men undue advantage over their female counterparts and thus marked the beginning of women under-representation in formal agencies of government (Awofeso and Odeyemi, 2014).

It is therefore not surprising that half a decade after independence, only 6.9 percent of the salaried workers were women and by 1970, only 8.7 per cent of the total numbers of established staffers in the Federal Civil Service were women. Also, in 1980, the percentage of women had risen to 12.6 per cent while similar patterns were maintained in State Civil Services (Kolawole, Abubakar, Owonibi and Adebayo, 2012). This pattern of women marginalization in government service continues till today. According to the National Bureau of Statistics’ report of 2014, male

staff dominated in the state civil service across all cadres between 2010- 2013. On the average, more than two-thirds (64.5 percent) of higher level positions were filled by men compared to 35.5 percent of women. This pattern of unevenness in employment was the same at the lower cadre as well. The proportion of men employed within that window was constantly higher than that of women for both senior and junior categories.

Secondly, the colonial policies did not only culminate in disparity in male -female representation but the subsequent restructuring of the African traditional economies coupled with their linkage with the international capitalist economic system altered the Nigerian economy to become the producer of primary crops which were to be exported to Europe as cheap raw materials for their factories. African male rapidly occupied the space of producers and exporters of these crops while their female counterpart focused on the production of food crops and domestic management (Awofeso and Odeyemi, 2014; Ezegebe and Akubue , 2012). It is significant to note that these colonial policies affected all aspects of the political life of the Nigerian state. For instance, in the area of constitutional development and decision making, women were excluded from participation and representation in politics. Consequently, the Clifford Constitution of 1922 disenfranchised women by limiting the electorate to adult males in Calabar and Lagos who had been resident in the city for at least one year and had a gross annual income of £100 pounds. The Richard Constitution of 1946 only reduced the property qualification to £50 pounds. The Macpherson Constitution removed property qualification but still disenfranchised women by stating that only adult males who pay their taxes were eligible to vote (Oke, 2015).

Adefi and Aladi (2012) opine that during the process of military preparation for return to civil rule in 1975, women were excluded. The 50-member constitutional drafting committees were made up of all men which made the women activist-group to criticize the composition of committee by captioning it as the “fifty wise men”. They further note that it was the protest and criticism of women activist-group that paved the way for the inclusion of five women in the 250-member Constituent Assembly that reviewed the proposed draft constitution. Women were also often excluded from strategic committees which are often ad-hoc in nature. Also, during the Political Reform Conference set up in Abuja by former president Obasanjo in 1999, women were not adequately represented. Adefi and Alade further reveal that out of the 36 states in Nigeria,

only two governors nominated a woman as the delegates to the Political Reform Conference in all of the states. Also, the Justice Uwais Electoral Reforms Panel had only five women in the 40-member committee. Similarly, since over five decades of Nigeria's independence, no woman has been elected or appointed as president, vice president, senate president, one as governor and none as minister of defense either during military rule or civil administration. More so, there was no woman in the defunct Supreme Military Council or the later Armed Forces Ruling Council in all the years of military governance (Innocent and Nwaoha, 2014). The table below shows the representation of women in elected offices since 1999.

Table 2.2: List of Women Representation in 1999, 2003, 2007, 2011 and 2015 Nigerian Elections

	1999		2003		2007	2011		2015		
Office	Seat Available	Women	Seat Available	Women	Seat Available	Women	Seat Available	Women	Seat Available	Women
President	P	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0
Senate	109	3 (2.8)	109	4 (3.7)	109	7 (6.4)	109	9 (8.3)	109	6
House of representative Rens	360	12 (3.3)	360	21 (5.8)	360	26 (7.2)	360	25 (6.9)	360	13
Governor	36	0	36	1 (3.6)	36	0	36	0	36	0
State House of Assembly SHA	990	24 (2.4)	990	40 (3.9)	990	68 (6.9)	990	57 (5.8)	N/A	N/A
SHA Committee Chairperson	829	18 (2.2)	881	32 (3.6)	887	-	887	52 (5.9)	N/A	N/A
LGA Chairperson	710	13 (1.8)	774	15(1.9)	740	-	740	27 (3.6)	N/A	N/A
Councilors	6368	69 (1.1)	6368	267	6368	-	6368	235		

Source: Irabor (2012); Okoronkwo-Chukwu (2013) ; Ngara and Ayamba 2013

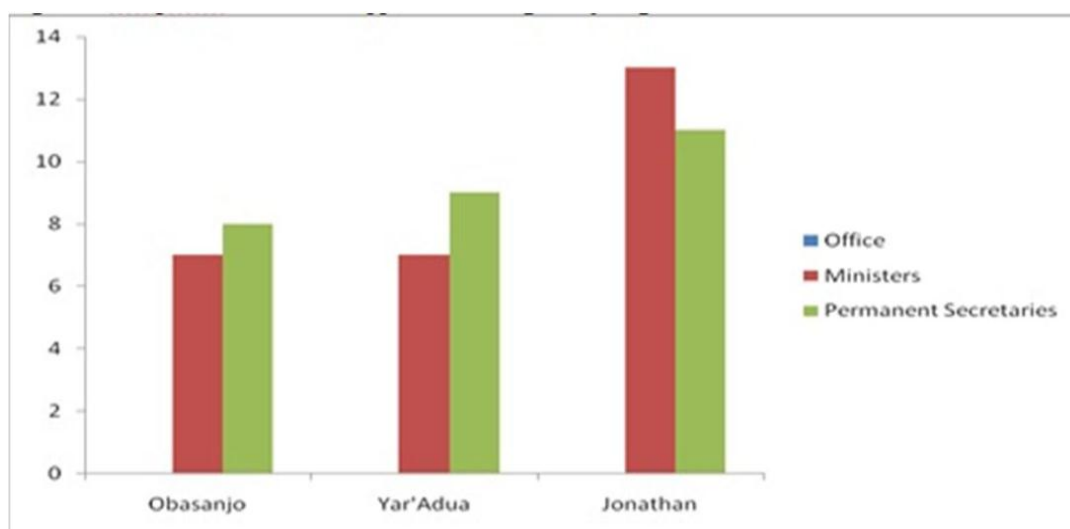
Table 2.3: Trends of Women Deputy Governors in Nigeria Since 1999

Election Year	No. of Women Deputy Governors
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1999	1
2003	2
2007	6
2011	1
2015	4

Source: Ogunyankin (2012)

Table 2.4: Comparison of Women Appointees in Nigeria by Regimes



Source: (Ayamba and Ngara, 2013)

The tables above reveal gender disparity at all levels. First, there was no female president or vice president neither was there female senate president. The National Assembly in 1999 had three (3) (2.8%) female Senators and twelve (3.3%) female House of Representatives members. In 2003, four (3.7%) and twenty-one (5.8%) female members were elected respectively into the Assembly. In 2007, the National Assembly had nine (8.3%) female Senators and twenty-six (7.2%) female members of House of Representatives. In 2011, the National Assembly had seven (6.4%) female members and twenty-five (6.9%) female members in the lower House.

Much more disheartening is the recent 2015 elections. Only 1 (one) female presidential candidate contested the 2015 elections. Out of the three hundred and eighty (380) positions for

governors and deputy governors (22.9 percent), only eighty-seven female candidates contested. Also, one hundred and twenty-two (122) out of seven hundred and forty-seven (747) for Senate (16 percent) and two hundred and sixty-seven (267) out of one thousand, seven hundred and seventy-four (1774) candidates for House of Representatives (15 percent). However, in the outcome of the election, the National Assembly has seven (7) (6.4%) female members in Senate and (19) (5.2%) female in the House of Representatives. This outcome means that women lost some of the grounds they covered in 2007 and 2011.

Also, these figures are worrisome when compared with the situation in countries such as Rwanda, where women make up 61 of 106 parliamentarians (58 percent), and Senegal where women occupy 65 of the 150 parliamentary seats (43 percent) (Sogbesan, 2015). Quadri (2015) contends that despite women's active participation in all aspects of the electoral processes leading to the 2015 General Elections, the outcome of the election showed a decline in the performance of women with respect to the number of elected female politicians. She contends that the dwindling performance of women in the 2015 election was due to the exclusionary politics based on gender relations which manifested in the failure of parties to implement any gender policy, absence of internal party democracy among the various political parties, and the tensed political atmosphere preceding the election which was characterized by total and brutal campaign of calumny, hatred and various forms of hate speeches on the part of party faithfuls and candidates themselves. She concludes by noting that the more women agitate for inclusion through various platforms, the lesser the democratic spaces for inclusion open to them. This is corroborated by Akpan (2015) who notes that the factors that limited women in 2015 elections are not different from factors that have inhibited women in previous elections.

In all, it is evident that women's civil and political rights which include among others participation and representation are inadequate in the Nigerian political scene. Given this, Momodu (2003) cited in (Quadri, 2015) surmise that women's political participation and representation in politics and governance should be seen from four distinct perspectives namely; access, participation, representation, and transformation. Access to political institutions, participation (center around who control power within such institutions), qualitative and quantitative representation which will culminate in social and political transformation in the polity. According to Quadri (2015), women's political empowerment can be enhanced when

these four conditions are fulfilled. While the above is a discussion of women's civil rights in Nigeria at the federal level, the situation of women's civil and political rights at the state level is not different specifically in Lagos and Ogun States which are the elected states for this work. In the next section, the study examines women's civil and political rights during the colonial and postcolonial periods in Lagos and Ogun States.

2.1.11 Women's Civil and Political Rights in Colonial Lagos and Ogun States

As with every other epoch of history, there were contentions about the nature of women's rights in Lagos and present Ogun States during the colonial period. The debate concerning the nature of women's rights in the colonial era and the impact of colonial rule on Nigerian women's status and roles can be divided into three major schools. The first school comprises scholars who argue that it was wholly beneficial; the second group opines that it caused women's status to deteriorate; and the third group of scholars often argues that it set in motion a complex cultural interaction that produced both beneficial and adverse results (Denzler, 1994).

Scholars who support the first thesis often argue that colonial rule was beneficial to women because the activities of missionaries, administrators, and government anthropologists among others led to the abolishment of laws or partially abolished certain practices and institutions that British administrators regarded as inhumane, "uncivilized," or exploitative, such as forced marriage, child marriage and domestic slavery. The second thesis was advanced in the 1970s by many female scholars in the Third World and the West, notably espoused by Annie Lebeuf, Bolanle Awe, and Judith van Allen. They argued that colonialism has negative influence on nature and character of women's rights. For these scholars, colonialism corrupted the status of women and undermined them in many ways. Scholars such as Nina Mba and Allen Van Judith have argued that the introduction of colonial administration after 1900 sentenced women into a political coma. Their previous political roles before colonialism became invisible (Adu, 2008).

According to Esomchi and Akoji (2016), colonial administration was unfavourable to women. Although the Lyttleton 1954 and the independence constitution gave suffrage to women, this was still restricted to female in Western and Eastern Nigeria. As a rule, Yoruba women were excluded from the colonial administration, many Yoruba associations, including professional associations as well as churches and mosques (Nolte, 2008). It is imperative to note the argument

of the second thesis that colonialism was unfavourable to women partly because British patriarchal values corroborated with deep-rooted Yoruba (indeed Nigeria) patriarchal values, resulted in the slow development of girl-child' education (Denzler, 1994). Yoruba parents refused to send their girl-child to school for numerous reasons. First, many of these parents believed that investing in a girl's education benefited only her would-be husband's family, so it seemed good financial sense to give priority to training their sons. Second, they needed their daughters' labour at home or in the markets. Third, few opportunities existed for educated girls in wage employment. Fourth, many parents feared that education would lead their daughters into immorality or alienate them from their culture, and even possibly make them infertile. And finally, the administration never developed a strong policy encouraging more extensive girls' education, partly because of the deeply rooted patriarchal attitudes held by many colonial officials (most of whom were men), and partly because the local demand for it remained low until after the late 1930s when women's activism became invigorated due to the realities of women experience.

Evidence of the underrepresentation of women in colonial administration is glaring in many reports. Afonja (1981) revealed that less than 2 percent of all salaried employees were women in 1950. Only 2.9 percent of all the professionals in Nigeria in 1966 were women and in 1968, only nine women held executive positions in the private sector in comparison with 181 men. The 1966 report further showed that women compose about 7.2 percent of the total labour force. This marginalization of women is also shown in the proportional distribution of paid staff in the Federal Civil Service in 1974: only 11.5 percent of the 122,914 positions were filled by women. And majority of women even at that time served in the service sector as typists, teachers, nurses and secretaries,

The justification for marginalization of women in formal sector was hinged on the argument that jobs in the informal sector are more adjustable to women's domestic duty, hence, women hold the poorest of these positions in formal sector and have greater difficulty in maintaining a steady income because they must intermittently leave these highly competitive jobs to bear children. Women employees suffered many inequalities in colonial Nigeria. For instance, women's pay scale was lower than that of men and there were fewer chances for promotion. Until the 1950s, government policy concerning the promotion of female civil servants specified that women

should not be placed in positions of authority over men. In the customary practice in Western Nigeria, they had to resign upon marriage and work after that on contract, renewable on a monthly basis (Denzer, 1994). Also, young women experienced sexual discrimination from both their white male superiors and their Nigerian male colleagues.

It is pertinent to note that in spite of the marginalization of women within the colonial structure, women advocacy groups still thrive. Women's rights and advocacy in southwest Nigeria and Lagos in particular was legendary because Lagos was the seat of colonial government and a commercial hub being a coastal centre which then means that activism and clash between government and the people, particularly women, was not unusual. During the colonial administration, numerous women and organizations continued to remain the face of women's rights activism in Lagos. Significant among these women and organizations are the Lagos Market Women's Association (LMWA) spearheaded by Madam Alimotu Pelewura and Nigerian Women's Party founded in 1942 by Oyinkan Morenike Abayomi, Lagos Women's League (LWL) by Charlotte Olajumoke Obasa in 1901, and Women's Welfare Council (WWC) in 1944. While the WWC was the umbrella body of all "Ladies organizations in Lagos", the NWP formed was by Abayomi who also served as its president (Aderinto 2010). Women Welfare Council (WWC) For instance, wrote a petition to the resident and district officers in the provinces requesting that they prevent girls from being trafficked to Lagos under the guise of education, marriage and informal training.

Aderinto (2014) noted that the Lagos Market Women's Association (LMWA) was the first women's-based mass interest group to recognize the power of collective action in protecting and promoting women's rights in the region of Nigeria during the colonial era. The organization was the voice of advocacy against colonial exploitative decrees, schemes and plots that aim to undermine market women in Lagos. The first resistance of the organization was against taxation of women in Lagos and subsequently, it reacted against Captain A.P. Pullen's food price control scheme that was unfavorable to market women and made them susceptible to colonial exploitation.

Similarly, Nigerian Women's Party founded by Oyinkan Morenike Abayomi was a women-advocacy group in Lagos which was concerned about several women issues among which

include girls' education and literacy classes for adult women; employment of women in the civil service; the right of female minors to trade freely in Lagos; and protection of market women's right. Among several other rights fought for by the NWP, it fought for equal pay for women. For instance, female teachers were paid thirty-three percent less than men in the same rank (Aderinto, 2010). NWP primary focus was on women's empowerment through education, as it sensed that the high level of illiteracy among women was a hindrance to their empowerment. Aderinto further noted that the activism and advocacy of women attracted the attention of the colonial administrators because the social and economic standing of their members, their personal intellect, charisma, versatility, and exposure to western culture

The women advocacy groups spoke against colonial activity that were not consistent with women's interests. The groups in southwest and nation-wide protested against colonial policies and activities such as: water rate protest (1916), introduction of taxation for women (1927 and 1940), the Eleko Eshugbayi palaver between 1920-1931, the Ikoyi Cemetery controversy, the General Strike of 1945, and the public condemnation of Richards Constitution of 1945 to mention but a few (Aderinto, 2010). Particularly, educated women increasingly developed an interest in anticolonial politics throughout the colonial period. They took part in the activities of the Nigerian National Democratic Party, the Nigerian Youth Movement, the Omo Egbe Oduduwa, the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons, and the Action Group (Denzer, 1994).

As in every region of colonial Nigeria, British colonial rule was unfavourable to women in Ogun State. Prior to colonialism, women occupy significant position in leadership. Akintan (2013) says that among the various towns in Ìjèbùland, located in present day Ogun State, there is an important chieftaincy title which is classified as the Pampa class of chiefs. There are at least four women among the men in this group. They are: Ìyálóde, Òtún Ìyálóde; Ìyálájé and Òtún Ìyálájé. There is also a woman-member of the Ògbóni cult who is known as Erelú. These women run the affairs of women in Ìjèbùland. However, after the introduction of colonialism and their policy of indirect rule which culminated in the establishment of Sole Native Authority (SNA) in 1914, women lost their place in politics. Not only were they not allowed to become leaders, they were also excluded from any decision-making meetings including those that directly affected them such as marriage regulations (Adu, 2008). Besides, the sole native authority had no women in it.

The inherently sexist attitudes of British colonial bourgeois British attitudes toward women led to a worst women's situation in colonial Ogun State. The reaction of women to oppressive style of the British rule was evident in how Egba women advocated against forced taxation from which they received no benefit and had no representation. The Egba women, led by Olufunmilayo Ransom-Kuti, formed the Abeokuta Ladies Club (ALC), which metamorphose into the Abeokuta Women's Union (AWU) and later gave birth to Nigerian Women's Union (NWU) (Adu, 2008). So much has been written about the Egba women's riot but most account focus on the forced taxation which played a prominent part in the eventuality of revolt neglecting how Alake's (the then monarchy of Abeokuta) policies and methods during the Adubi war which preceded the revolt fell particularly heavy on the women, the main producers of food and distributors of it in Abeokuta.

In 1914, the demand for the war increased and women were reluctant to continue to supply the required tax and goods for the war; Alake's police set up roadblocks at strategic points along the way to Ibadan, Lagos and Ijebu-Ode, in order to stop the women and examine their loads, seizing chickens, yams, gari and rice. The situation worsened when Alake curtly dismissed the protests with the statement that "nobody should eat until enough food was collected for the soldiers." Often, the women received no compensation for their seized produce or when they did, it was at a rate lower than that set by the administration. Angry women charged that the Alake pocketed the profit he made in selling the produce to the government at the price legally specified. The most important grievance of Abeokuta's women, however, was taxation and specifically taxation without representation. Since 1918, when taxes were instituted, women were required to pay income taxes upon reaching the age of fifteen and continued to do so when married. Men did not have to pay until the age of seventeen (Mba, 1982). Women thus provided as much as one-half of district revenues. Yet, women had no direct representation on the SNA councils, a situation they resented very much. Further, the manner in which taxes were collected was often insulting and violent, including the chasing of women, beatings, and stripping of young girls, allegedly to assess their age. Over the years, the number of complaints increased, finally reaching a point where women decided that their only chance to gain redress of their grievances was a more militant approach.

2.1.12 Women's Civil and Political Rights in Post-Colonial Lagos State.

Lagos State was created on 27th May, 1967 by virtue of the State (Creation and Transitional Provisions) Decree No. 14, 1967 which formed part of the restructuring of Nigeria's Federation into 12 states. In over five decades of Nigeria's independence, the military had ruled the country for 29 years without significant representation and participation for women, apart from the token participation granted at the state executive councils. Although, the Buhari/Idiagbon regime in 1984 directed that all military governors appoint at least one female commissioner into each state executive council. Yet, woman did not occupy any position in executive council of all the military government because members were drawn from the most senior military officers (Oyekanmi and Majekodunmi, 2016). However, in few instances where women were included in the executive cabinets, the nature of ministerial postings they were given suggested that the gesture is mere tokenism in the recognition of both women's number and capabilities

During two long periods of military rule (1966–79, 1983–99), women were not adequately represented in governance in southwest Nigeria. They were also affected severely for instance by low and negative economic growth, following the introduction of the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) in the 1980s onwards (Nolte 2008). Nolte further observe that women's participation in military administrations and formal political sphere of party politics has been very low, and, in the case of Yoruba women, lower than in the pre-colonial period (Nolte, 2008). The table, graphs and charts below give the representation of women in politics especially in appointive position from 1967 to 1999.

Table 2.5: Women in the Lagos State Executive Council from 1967- 2015

Year	Male		Female	
	No of Seat	%	No of Seat	%
1967-1968	4	100	0	0
1968-1970	12	100	0	0
1971-1973	13	100	0	0
1973-1975	17	94.1	1	5.88
1975-1977	20	95	1	5
1977-1978	18	94.4	1	5.6
1978-1979	22	95.5	1	4.5
1979-Oct-1983	20	100	0	0
Oct.1983-Dec 1983	17	100	0	0
1984-1986	19	94.7	1	5.3

1986-1988	19	89.5	2	10.5
1988-1991	19	79	4	21
1992-1993	11	81.8	2	18.1
1993-1996	14	82.9	1	7.1
1996-1999	15	80	3	20
1999-2003	29	89.7	3	10
2003-2007	48	97.9	1	2.1
2007-2011	38	97	3	3
2011-2015	34	89	4	11

Source: Akosa, 2015

Following the creation of the state in 1967, there was no woman in the state executive council. Same in 1968-1970, 1971-1973. Between 1973-1975, there was one woman in state council. Same in 1975-1977, 1977-1978 and 1978-1979. Election took place in 1979-1983; between October 1979 and December 1983, there was no woman in the Lagos State Executive Council (LSEC). Between 1984-1986, women had one seat in the LSEC. Within 1986-1988, women had two positions; 1988-1991 there were four positions for women which was the highest in the history of military rule in the state. In 1992-1993e election, two women were elected. Particularly, Table 6 below shows the women representation in appointive position in Lagos from 1999 when Nigeria returned to democratic rule.

Table 2.6: Women in the Lagos State Executive Council from 1999- 2015

Election Year	Number of seats	Men	Women
1999	29	26 (89.7%)	3(10%)
2003	48	47 (97%)	1 (2.1%)
2007	38	35 (97%)	3 (3%)
2011	34	30 (89%)	4 (11%)
2015		N/A	N/A

Source: Oni, 2012

From the table, between 1999-2003, there were only three women in Lagos State Executive Council and in 2003-2007, there was only one woman in the executive council. There were three

women between 2007-2011 and four between 2011-2015. The summary is that in elective position in Lagos State, women have remained largely underrepresented.

Table 2.7: Percentage of Women to Men in Lagos State House of Assembly 1999-2015

Election Year	Number of seat	Men	Women
1999	40	37	3(7.5%)
2003	40	38	2(5%)
2007	40	35	5(12.5%)
2011	40	33	7 (17.5%)
2015	40	35	5 (12.5%)

Source: Oni, 2012

There were three women in the 40-member State House of Assembly between 1999 and 2003. A similar situation played out in 2004, 2007, and 2011 and in the last 2015 elections. For instance, during the 2015 election in Lagos State, women who contested elections recorded substantial losses as the number of women in the Lagos State House of Assembly shrunk from 7 to 5. The story was the same at the grassroots level.

Table 2.8: Male to Female ratio as Councilors in Lagos State

Election year	Number of seat	Men	Women
1999	376	361	15(2.54%)
2004	376	350	26 (6.9 %)
2008	376	348	28(7.4%)
YEAR	N/A	N/A	N/A
YEAR	N/A	N/A	N/A

Source: Oni, 2012

More so, at the local government level, statistics remain very low, few women have been able to emerge as the Chairperson of various local governments in the state (Fatile, Adepoju, Adepoju and Ayeni, 2017). For instance, in the period between 1999 and 2007, only four (4) were women were elected out of the twenty local government chairpersons, The next table reveals the ratio of women to men as local government leaders in Lagos State from 1999-2015.

Table 2.9: Local Government Leaders in Lagos State under Different Administration (1999-2017)

Election Year	Number of Seat	Men	Women
1999 -2007	20	16(80%)	4(20%)
2011-2015	20	20(100%)	0 (0%)
2015-till date	N/A	N/A	N/A

Source: Fatile, Adepoju, Adepoju and Ayeni, 2017

The study conducted by Fatile, Adepoju, Adepoju and Ayeni (2017) was in ten Local Government Areas of Lagos State: Agege, Ikeja, Oshodi/Isolo, Mushin, Alimosho, Badagry, Epe, Ifako-Ijaiye Surulere Local Government Councils, and ten Local Council Development Areas (LCDA) which include Iba, Ayobo-Ipaja, Bariga, Coker-Aguda, Ejigbo, Eredo, Ifelodun, Lekki, Orile-Agege, Yaba. The LGAs and LCDA were selected based on their population size and their categorization in the five (5) zonal divisions of Lagos State, the study found women to be largely underrepresented.

Table 2.10: Statistics of Male and Female Local Government Chairmen in 10 Selected Local Government Councils in Lagos State, Nigeria from 1999-2016.

S/N	Local Governments	Male	Female	Male (%)	Female (%)
1.	Agege	5	-	100	0
2.	Alimosho	5	-	100	0
3.	Apapa	5	-	100	0
4.	Badagry	3	-	100	0
5.	Epe	3	-	100	0
6.	Ifako-Ijaiye	3	-	100	0
7.	Ikeja	5	-	100	0
8.	Oshodi/Isolo	5	-	100	0
9.	Mushin	5	-	100	0
10.	Surulere	5	-	100	0

Source: Fatile, Adepoju, Adepoju and Ayeni, 2017

Table 2.11: Statistics of Male and Female Local Government Councilors in 10 selected Local

Government councils of Lagos State, Nigeria					
S/N	LCDAs	Male	Female	Males (%)	Females (%)
1.	Iba	3	1	75	25
2.	Ayobo/Ipaja	5	-	100	0
3.	Bariga	5	-	100	0
4.	Coker-Aguda	5	-	100	0
5.	Ejigbo	5	-	100	0
6.	Eredo	3	-	100	0
7.	Ifelodun	3	-	100	0
8.	Lekki	3	-	100	0
9.	Orile-Agege	3	-	100	0
10.	Isolo	3	1	75	25

Source: Fatile, Adepoju, Adepoju and Ayeni, 2017

The table above shows that the male gender dominated politics in Lagos, in appointive and elective positions, whether at the state level or local government level in Lagos State. This further proves that there is a wide gap between the male and female gender when it comes to representation and participation in politics (both civil and political rights of women). This reveals that women have been relegated to the background in leadership and decision-making process in Lagos State contrary to the popular notion.

In response to international event, laws, protocols, advocacy and organization regarding the widening political, social and economic gap between men and women, the Federal Government in 2007 adopted the National Gender Policy (NGP). The Policy allows each of the 36 states to domesticate the NGP, while ensuring linkages with the National Gender Policy Framework (NGPF) through the Federal Ministry of Women Affairs and Social Development (FMWASD). However, the level of domestication of NGP remains very low although indication shows that Lagos State is making efforts to mainstream gender in every aspect of its operations through collaborations with the United Kingdom's Department for International Development and the State Partnership for Accountability, Responsiveness and Capability (SPARC).

2.1.13 Women's Civil and Political Rights in Post-Colonial Ogun State.

The state was created in February 3, 1976 out of the former Western State. Since its creation, the representation of women in elective and appointive position has been very low, so also participation and representation under both military and civilian administrations. Women's

representation in government is below the 35% affirmative quota that the National Gender Policy prescribes. Arguably, this was so under military administration because women in Ogun State like their counterpart in other states of the federation were not in the upper echelon of military organizational structure and old boys association and as such had little or no involvement in the legislative and executive body combined in the various military ruling councils (Oni, 2012). Although the Murtala/Obasanjo regime which created Ogun State and appointed Mrs. Womiloju Idowu as head of Ogun State government towards the closing end of their regime leading to transition to civilian rule, she was the only woman so appointed. However, with the advent of democratic rule in 1999, one expected the position of women in Ogun State to improve but the paradox is the situation. The table below shows women representation in elective and appointive position from 1999-2015.

Table 2.12: Percentage of Women to Men representation and appointive position in the State Executive Council

Election year	Number of seat	Men	Women
1999-2003	14	14(100%)	0
2003-2007	19	16 (84%)	3 (15.7%)
2007-2011	19	16(84%)	3 (15.7%)
2011-2015	N/A	N/A	N/A
2015- till date	N/A	N/A	N/A

Source: Oni, 2012

As shown in the table above, after the 1999 election, there was no woman in the 14-member State Executive Council throughout the first eight-year term of the fourth republic (1999 - 2003, 2003- 2007). In 2007- 2011, women occupy only 3 spots out of the State Executive Council which ad 19-member and 1 woman among the 20 special advisers to the State Government. In elective positions from 1999-2003, only one woman was in the House of Assembly which comprises of 26 members. During 2003-2007 elections, Mrs. Titi Oseni was the only female of the 26 members of Ogun State House of Assembly; and in 2007 election, there were only 2 females out of the 26 members of the State House of Assembly. Below is a table on women to men representation in elective positions.

Table 2.13: Percentage of Women to Men representation in Elective Positions at the State Executive Council with the exception of the positions of Governor and Deputy Governor

Election Year	Number of seat	Men	Women
1999-2003	26	26	0
2003-2007	26	25	1
2007-2011	26	24	2
2011-2015	N/A	N/A	N/A
2015-till date	N/A	N/A	N/A

Source: Oni, 2012

At the local government level, the elections that held in 1999 had no female winner out of the 20 Local Government Chairmen, and only 6 females out of the 236 councilors in the state. In 2004, there was only one woman out of the 20 local government chairpersons and 15 out of the 236 councilors in the state. For 2007, only 1 female out of the 20 local government chairmen and 18 councilors out of the 236 wards in the state were elected.

Table 2.14: Percentage of women to men who are Local Government Chairperson

Election Year	Number of Seat	Men	Women
1999	20	20(100%)	0
2004	20	19 (95%)	1
2007	20	19 (95%)	1

Source: Oni (2012)

Table 2.15: Percentage of Women to Men who are Councilors in Ogun State

Election Year	Number of Seat	Men	Women
1999	236	230 (97%)	6(2.5%)
2004	236	221 (93.6%)	15 (6.3%)

2007	236	218 (92%)	18 (7.6%)
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Source :Oni ,2012

A study by Dosumu and Olusanya (2008:231-242) on women's political participation in Ogun State found women to be underrepresented and it identified certain impediments to the promotion of gender equality in the state. The factors identified include low level of education among women in the state (a result of persistent cultural perception of any investment in women's education as a waste), the patriarchal attitude of men, discrimination, and lack of implementation of legal framework like the Beijing plan for action.

According to Ntiwunka (2013), women occupied only 27.8 percent of all ministerial positions in the State. At the local government level, just one (5 percent) Local Government Chairman (Sagamu) was a woman. Even though the Head of Service and the Chief Judge of the State were women as at the time the study was conducted, women's voice, choice, power and control over resources in State is still minimal. Fagbe, Ogbuiyi, Ogbuiyi. and Oriogu (2015) in their study on information behaviour and political participation of women in ijebuland of Ogun State found that although 70% of the respondents were actively involved in politics and belonged to a political party known as ACN (Action Congress of Nigeria), yet, majority of the respondents indicated that education, economic factors, and gender issues continued to serve as major deterrents to better information behaviour and effective political participation.

Another study by Nwogwugwu and Osakede (2015) on decentralization and inclusiveness (gender inclusiveness among others) in six selected local governments namely Yewa South, Odeda, Abeokuta South, Ijebu Ode, Ikenne, Sagamu, Ado-Odo Ota, and Ijebu North Local Government areas (two from each of the four geo-political divisions of the state) during the period 2003 – 2011 found women inclusion in the form of political appointments and election into public offices to be below the United Nations' quota of 30% of major policy making positions to be conceded to women. For instance, in the eight-year period 1999-2007, only one woman was elected as local government chairperson, in one of the twenty Local Government Areas in the state. This is despite the large number of educated women in the state and the fact that women constitute about half of the population of the state regarded as one of the most educationally advantaged states in the country, with 21 higher institutions, the highest for any state in the country. Nwogwugwu and Osakede (2015) attributed this lacuna to failure of political

parties to intentionally recruit female candidates for public position and lack of gender clause that -emphasizes gender equity and inclusion of most political parties.

2.1.14 International Covenant on Economic and Socio-Cultural Rights (ICESCR)

The International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) is one of the treaties adopted by the United Nations' General Assembly on 16 December 1966, and it came into force from 3 January 1976. The covenant makes provision for several issues ranging from labour rights, the rights to health, education, social security, family life, participation in cultural life and to adequate standard of living. As at 2015, the Covenant had 164 parties and Nigeria ratified it on 29 July 1993. In this section, the study examines ECOSOC in pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial Nigeria including its application in Lagos and Ogun State vis a vis the reality of women's experience.

2. 1.15 Economic and Socio-Cultural Rights of Women in Nigeria

The fundamental issue of women's rights in Nigeria is the economic, socio and cultural rights of women which emphasise the right of women just as men to employment, education, social security and other social wellbeing that guarantee their rights and dignity. The Article 22 of 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) asserts that "Everyone, as a member of society, has the right to social security...and Article 25 further assert that "Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family...and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control" (Jaconelli, 1984). This fundamental rights of all were further enunciated in the 1966 International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) which is in tandem with UDHR (Langley, 1987). Similarly, in 1981, African states adopted the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights, officially known as the Banjul Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights which further enunciated the economic, socio and cultural rights of women. These rights are discussed below:

2.1.16 Non-discrimination and Equality

This principle of non-equality and non-discrimination is rooted in several international documents such as the UN Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) and international covenants such as the Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR, 1966), and the Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights (ICESCR, 1966). It includes treaties in specific fields such as the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination

(CERD, 1965). Others are Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), promulgated in 1979, as well as the regional human rights conventions such as the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights, officially known as the Banjul Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights, The European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms (ECHR,1950) and the American Convention on Human Rights (ACHR,1969) These and others recognize the principle of non-discrimination and equality of all including women. Article 13 (1) of the UN charter states that the goal of the organization is to “promote and encourage respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion.” Similarly, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), which was a follow-up document to the UN Charter, further elaborates on the principle of equality and non-discrimination.

Article 2 states that “Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in the Universal Declaration without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or another opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or another status,” while Article 7 says “All are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law. Equality and non-discrimination have been defined as a major pillar of human rights and a prerequisite for human dignity and peaceful cohabitation of all people in the world. Discrimination is defined as “any distinction, exclusion or preference made on the basis of race, colour, sex, religion, political opinion, national extraction or social origin, which has the effect of nullifying or impairing equality of opportunity or treatment in employment or occupation (DEOC, 1958).

The ICESCR and CEDAW forbid any form of discrimination against women, or groups of women, in law or in practice in both the public and private spheres (International Women’s Rights Action Watch–Asia Pacific (IWRAW) and the International Network for Economic, Social and Cultural Rights ((ESCR-Net), 2013). Lewu (2011) notes that discrimination against women exists at home, school, work and the society at large and that there are several discriminatory practices against women. For instance, a woman whose husband dies is required to shave her hair in mourning and where suspicion exists about the cause of the husband’s death, she is required by tradition to drink the water used to bathe her husband and such is not required from widower in the case of the death of a woman. Also, a woman is not allowed to break the

kolanut in the presence of men and in some culture especially among the Abakaliki people of Ebonyi State, women are prevented from eating nutritional food like gizzard and the anus or head of fowl because of superstitious beliefs that consider it a taboo, though the male counterpart is allowed to eat same. Thus, women's freedom of choice of what to eat is limited by this discriminatory practice in this culture.

Also, it has been observed that gender-based discriminations persist practically everywhere, in Nigeria and at all levels in spite of several efforts at ameliorating it (Sylvia and Ogugua, 2012). Studies by Olojede (2009) and Fatile, Olufemi, Adejuwon and David (2011) establish that gender discrimination against women is prominent in public service. They note that majority of women who work in public service occupy junior positions, and this deny them the requisite skills, training, and capital to secure more lucrative and secure employment. Aderinto (2010) notes that the root of women's subordinate status in civil service can be traced to colonial education and the head-start that men had in the core areas of public power.

Olojede (2009) in a quantitative analysis of women in top public administration also shows that men dominated key decision-making levels in the Federal Civil Service between 1988 and 1999. He further asserts that out of the total number of 4,243 top managers in the service between 1988 and 1991, 3,763 or 88.6% were men while women numbered 480 or 11.35%. This situation remains till today. According to the National Bureau of Statistics' report of 2014, male staff dominates in state employment across all cadres between 2010-2013. The report revealed that more than two-thirds (64.5 percent) of senior positions were occupied by men compared to 35.5 percent of women. This pattern of unevenness in employment was the same at the junior level as well. Subsequently, the proportion of men employed in the reference period was consistently higher than that of women for both senior and junior categories. Fatile, Olufemi, Adejuwon and David (2011) argue that gender is crucial in understanding appointment, recruitment and promotion to top management positions in the civil service. The prejudice against women in public service is predicated on cultural stereotype and religious consideration that man is supposed to be the "head".

Similarly, Odeku and Animashaun (2012) observe that discrimination based on age, sex, the state of origin, and health status (HIV/AIDS) exists against people in workplaces in Nigeria. For

instance, they report that during the military era in Nigeria, many professional women in the military were denied certain positions such as military governorship of a state due to their marital status, while men were appointed as state governors throughout the military regimes. This is contrary to the provision of Article 1 of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discriminations Against Women (CEDAW) 1979 which conceives “gender discrimination” as:

Any distinction, exclusion or restriction made on the basis of sex which has the effect or purpose of impairing or nullifying the recognition, enjoyment or exercise by women, irrespective of their marital status, on a basis of equality of man and woman, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political economic, social, cultural, civil or any other field (1979:6)

It has been noted that throughout the lifecycle of a woman, she is likely to experience one form of injustice, inequality, discrimination and other issues that violate her fundamental human rights and dignity as a woman. For instance, a World Health Organization’s (WHO) (1998) study finds that before birth, a female child risks sex-selective abortion in most cultures; at infancy, they may experience female infanticide. As an adolescent or teenager, a girl-child might be at risk of child marriage, female genital mutilation, physical, and psychological sexual abuses, incest, child prostitution and pornography. In adulthood, women risk to be economically coerced into prostitution (e.g. school girls having sex with “sugar daddies” in return for school fees or any other financial assistance) incest; sexual harassment in the workplace; rape; trafficking of women; partner violence; marital rape; dowry abuse forced prostitution, domestic violations; and murders; partner homicide; psychological abuses; abuse of women with disabilities; and forced pregnancy. Finally, at the elderly stage of life, forced “suicide” or homicide of widows for economic reasons; sexual, physical and psychological abuses are common.

Furthermore, gender inequality exists at the institutional level as well as in the law and family (Fatile, Olufemi, Adejuwon and David, 2011). At the legal level, several studies have found the Nigerian Constitution liable for promoting gender discrimination. First, the choice of words used in the constitution seems to have placed emphasis on the male gender using the masculine pronoun “He” to the exclusion of the feminine pronoun “She” where both genders are being referred to (Sylvia and Ogugua, 2012). Secondly, several aspects of the legal system have been found to promote gender inequality. These include Section 6 of the Nigerian Criminal Code which legalizes marital rape. Section 6 provides: “unlawful carnal knowledge means carnal connection which takes place otherwise than between husband and wife”. The legal consequence

of this section is that, under no condition can a man be found guilty of raping his wife; whereas, the significance of consent to sexual relations cannot be overemphasized in human rights. Also, section 353 and 360 of the Criminal Code and Section 55 of the Penal Code have been criticized for promoting inequality and violence against women. For instance, Section 55 of the Penal Code applicable in the Northern part of Nigeria provides:

Nothing is an offence which does not amount to the infliction of grievous hurt upon any person which is done by a husband for the purpose of correcting his wife, such husband or wife being subject to native law or custom in which such correction is recognized as lawful (p23)

Scholars have argued that the implications of these give room for domestic violence against women and also promote gender inequality since the section in question fails to confer a corresponding right on the wife to chastise the husband (Sylvia and Ogugua, 2012). The discrimination against women is further evident in Section 353 of the Nigerian criminal code which makes an indecent assault on males punishable by three (3) years imprisonment, while the same act against women is considered a mere misdemeanour punishable by a maximum of two (2) years imprisonment (Lewu, 2011).

Consequently, Sylvia and Ogugua (2012) found that at the institutional level, discrimination exists against women. They noted that the Nigerian Police Act Regulations 121 – 127 discriminate against women on the basis of their gender. Regulation 124 compulsorily requires every female corps with intention of marrying to first apply to the Commissioner of Police of the State she is serving, intreating a approval to marry. Additionally, she is to also provide details of her intended spouse. Authorization would only be granted if the Commissioner is content that a would-be spouse is a man of good character, and the police officer must have, in addition, served, the Police for a period, not fewer than 3 years. Paradoxically, no such prerequisite is imposed on her male counterpart who wishes to marry. Furthermore, Regulation 127 provides that unmarried Policewoman who becomes pregnant shall be discharged from the Force while an unmarried male Police officer who impregnates a woman is not discharged.

Similarly, Alemika and Agugua (2001) have shown in their study of gender relation and discrimination in the Nigeria Police Force that there are more men than women in the Police force. For instance, women constitute only about 4% of the force and about 8% of the officer

cadre. The study further reveals that the gross under-representation is due, among others, to regulations which disqualify married women from enlistment. The regulations discriminate against female officers by prescribing limited training and restricted sphere of posting for policewomen. Such laws also over-regulated the dressing of female officers and thereby curtailing their individuality. Section 128 of the Police Act over-regulated the appearance of Police women on duty to the degree that they are prohibited from wearing women accessories such as earrings and using beauty enhancement items; face powder, lipstick or coloured nail varnish. Apart from this, police women are required to place the alphabet “W” before their rank and are given special kind of A/P numbers to easily identify them as women or so to say (UNWOMEN and UNFPA, 2010).

Furthermore, Aderinto (2014) argues that the discrimination against women in the Nigerian Police Force can be traced to colonialism. To him, during the colonial period at a point when prostitution was a challenge to the Nigeria state, efforts were made to curb prostitution in Lagos, but the efforts were met with numerous challenges; one of which is the male-only composition of the Police Force. Hence, elite women advocated that women be enlisted in the Pforce as a way of curbing prostitution which the women’s group recognized as a “female crime”, and should be so dealt with by women in the Police force. The advocacy of women elite organization which include Charlotte Olajumoke Obasa’s Lagos Women’s League (LWL), the Women’s Welfare Council (WWC) and Oyinkan Abayomi’s Nigerian Women’s Party, (NWP) was not just about curbing “prostitution” but also about protecting women from exploitation, victimization and harassment by Police officers who exploit the vacuum in the law to achieve their selfish objective. This demand for enrolling women in the Police force raises serious question of male power in Nigeria as the then colonial government under Police Commissioner C.C. King saw women as lacking in physical vigour, intellectual dexterity, skill set, and capacity required for combating “female crime” in Lagos. The struggle to enlist women continued until the first group of women was enlisted into the National Police Force (NPF) in 1954. The struggle against the “feminization of law and order” remain contested till today as explained earlier.

In view of institutional discrimination against women, Ekhaton (2015) also argues that the Nigerian Drug Law Enforcement Agency’s (NDLEA) Act also heightens the discrimination of women in some of its regulations. For instance, under Article 5(1) of the NDLEA Order, 2002,

“All female applicants shall be unmarried at the point of entry and shall upon enlistment remain unmarried for a period not less than two years.” Furthermore, Article 5(2) provides, “All unmarried female members of staff that wish to marry shall apply in writing to the Chairman/Chief Executive, asking for permission, stating details of the intended husband. Sylvia and Ogugua (2012) find Sections 55, 56, 57 of the Nigerian Labour Act as discriminatory and a violation of women’s rights to the choice of work which they choose to do. The provision of these sections empowered the Minister of Labour to make regulations that prohibit women from undertaking certain jobs such as night shift in private or public sector except they are nurses or in cases where there are justifications. This is a violation of women’s access to work and a contravention of the International Equal Remuneration Convention of 1951 which calls for equal job opportunities for men and women.

Additionally, Sylvia and Ogugua (2012) argue that the Nigeria taxation system has also been found to be discriminatory against women. For instance, the taxation system operates under a patriarchal assumption that men are the “bread winner” or head of the household; consequently, only married men enjoy tax exemption. This implies that women, whether single, divorced, widowed, or single mothers are not beneficiaries of tax exemption and yet many of them are “heads” of their homes. This unequal taxation contradicts Article 7 of the ICESCR and Article 2 (1) of the CEDAW which guarantees equal pay for equal work, as well as equal treatment for both sexes. Additionally, there persists institutional discrimination against women and until recently, a woman is expected to get permission from her husband before she can secure an international passport but same is not required for married men in an attempt to secure international passport.

Another form of discrimination that exists against women is the phenomenon of son-preference particularly in the Eastern part of Nigeria. The birth of a male child is greeted with much jubilation than that of a girl child (Lewu, 2011). This is because culturally, it is believed that the male child perpetuates the family name while a girl child once married is culturally obligated to drop her maiden name and take up her husband’s name. Majority of women in Ekpoma Community in Nigeria that participated in a study conducted by Eguavoen, Odiagbe and Obetoh (2007) prefers male children to female ones because of their belief systems ranging from concern over successorship which is influenced by exogamous and virilocal patterns of marriage, to the

persistent belief in the bread winner system, inheritance rights, and the coarse utilitarian needs for manual labour on the farms. Also, among the Lelna of Zuru in Northern Nigeria, it is forbidden for women in their menstrual cycle to cook for men, drink from the same source with their husbands or use the same bathroom; they are seen as defiled and unclean (Lewu, 2011).

Also, there are several discriminatory practices against women in terms of inheritance and succession plan. In some Nigerian societies, women cannot inherit land from their fathers since they will marry outside the family. This practice is common among the Igbo community of South East Nigeria. In Igbo land, a woman who has no male child does not have an inheritance from her deceased husband except through her children and if only she remains in the family. Also, her right in her husband's family is dependent on the number of male children that she has for her deceased husband. Lewu (2011) observed that in a polygamous setting, following the demise of the husband, his property is shared among the women with the children of each wife inheriting their mother's share which is divided among the male children; the girl child is not reckoned with.

Studies have affirmed that discrimination against women continues to exist because of culture, colonial legacy, religion, education, politics, employment and legislation. Edlyne (2009) observes that although the number of women with formal education has improved marginally, the percentage of those participating in the labour force is low compared to their male counterpart. This is so because of such factors as the patriarchal nature of the Nigerian labour market, choice of marriage partners by women, women attitudinal and psychological dispositions, and other factors account for the marginal participation of women in the formal labour sector. Also, women's participation in the labour force is also constrained by the lopsidedness in education, labour market mobility, concentration in employment where wages are down, and direct discrimination against women (Fapohunda, 2012).

2.1.17 Rights to Work

The right to work is a fundamental and inalienable right of every citizen irrespective of gender, race, religion and political affiliation. These rights include the following among several others the right to work and earn their living through freely chosen work, the right to equal and fair pay without prejudice to gender stereotypes, the right to any kind of employment or promotion without discrimination on any basis, right to form and join or be part of a trade or labour union or

any association that promotes one's interest, the rights to freedom from forced labour and trafficking, and the rights to decent work.

The International Labour Organization (ILO) (2009) defines decent work as “opportunities for women and men to obtain decent and productive work in conditions of freedom, equity, security and human dignity, in which women and men have access on equal terms” (Khalid, and Nayma, 2013). In other words, decent work combines adequate income from productive work with social security, respect for a worker and social rights and the opportunity to voice and defend interests collectively. Similarly, the rights of women to work, without any form of discrimination, is recognized and guaranteed by many international and national instruments. Some of these instruments are Article 2 of CEDAW, Section 18 (3) of African Charter on Human and People's Rights; Article 7 of ICESCR, ILO Equal Remuneration Convention of 1951 Discrimination Convention (Employment and Occupation) 1958 (NO111), Workers, with Family Responsibilities Convention 1981 (No 156) and Maternity Protection Convention 2000 (No 183), and Section 42 of the Nigerian 1999 Constitution.

Gender inequality and discrimination at work can take several forms. According to Trentham and Larwood (1998 cited in Owoyemi and Olusanya 2014) gender discrimination at work can be categorized into four, namely: harassment at work, victimization, direct gender discrimination and indirect gender discrimination, Ige and Adekile (2012) show that women continue to experience discrimination and inequality in their workplaces in form of indiscriminate termination of work for refusing sexual advances from their boss, delay in promotion and outright intimidation. This discrimination is mostly evident in the banking sector which has been highly criticized for turning female marketers into “prostitute” in exchange for soliciting juicy fat bank accounts from rich male customers (Adenugba and Ilupeju, 2012). Several studies on new generation banks have criticized several bank policies towards their female employees (Olufayo, 2011).

The Nigerian workspace is gender biased and this bias influence operation, decision, team processing, and division of tasks and labour (Imhonopi and Urim, 2012). For instance, female graduates of Applied Sciences such as engineering, architecture, survey, construction, mining and metallurgy face prejudices which make it difficult for them to secure employment (Lewu, 2011). Discrimination against women takes several forms including the form of occupational

segregation. Occupational segregation could be horizontal or vertical: horizontal segregation restricts women to specific sectors and occupations; vertical segregation limits them to particular positions within occupational hierarchies (Fapohunda, 2012).

An analysis of gender diversity and parity in the corporate board of many Nigerian banks shows gender imbalance. There are twenty-four commercial banks in Nigeria and there were only three female chief executive officers (CEO) as at August 2015. Similarly, despite the Central Bank's gender policy of 30% women representation on the Board of Directors of banks, only 18 % of women are on the board of directors of nineteen banks in Nigeria (Omolayo, 2015). Also, a popular NGO in Nigeria, Women in Management, Business and Public Service (WIMBIZ) in a 2011 survey of female representation in 190 publicly quoted companies in Nigeria found only 10.5% of board seats to be held by women, with only 6.3% (12) as Managing Directors and 2.6% (5) as Chairmen (WIMBIZ, 2014). Thus, horizontal segregation persists in the labour market in Nigeria and women's movement into senior managerial positions is hampered by institutional barriers, including norms and attitudes (Fapohunda, 2012).

Similarly, a study of 400 top-ranking executives of government establishments and private business organizations by Longe (2011) found that women still face higher odds of frictions and greater sex-typed expectations which decelerated their career mobility, unlike their male counterparts. Sex-typed expectations for women leaders and managers are discriminatory to the degree that it leads to "hatred or dislikability" for women in leadership positions. For instance, when a male leader is aggressive in pursuit of organization goal and highly demanding of the workforce toward the achievement of same, it is seen as natural and characteristics of masculine leadership, but when women in leadership demand the same, they are often seen as "pushy", referred to derogatorily as Margret thatcher or iron lady. This prejudiced sex-type expectation affect women's performance as more are often afraid to be so labeled.

It is pertinent to note that gender discrimination also pervades the ivory tower of learning in such areas as student enrolment, staff employment, administrative policies and programmes, as well as representation in top senior management positions (Aina, Ogunlade, Ilesanmi, & Afolabi, 2015). This finding is buttressed by the reflection that since the establishment of the first university in Nigeria in 1948, only twelve (12) women have so far served in the position of university vice-chancellor in over 138 federal, state and private universities (The Punch

Newspaper, 2015). Several studies including those by Egunjobi (2008), Nwajiuba (2011), Adegun (2012), Adebayo and Akanle (2014) and Eboiyehi, Fayomi and Eboiyehi (2016) have found gender discrimination to exist in most institutions of learning which ought to be an exemption given the fact that they are the centres of enlightenment.

Similarly, the study on gender representation in Ekiti State University by Aina Ogunlade, Ilesanmi, & Afolabi (2015) found that there is a gross gender-gap in the University's management, academic staff employment, promotions and leadership positions; statutory committee and boards, Senate, as well as students' enrolments and academic attainments. The study by Aina, Ogunlade, Ilesanmi, & Afolabi (2015) is consistent with that of Adegun (2012) on the tertiary institution in Ekiti State. Additionally, an ongoing situation analysis on gender issues at the Obafemi Awolowo University (OAU) by Odeyinka, Eboiyehi and Okorie (2015), reveals that of the 206 professors at OAU in 2002, only 4.3% were females. Further analysis revealed that up to 2002, there was no female Dean of Faculty and only one Deputy Dean was a female. Also, of the 68 Heads of academic departments, 15.0% were female, the majority as Acting Heads. Recent data from the same institution in 2015 showed that there was no significant improvement in the proportion of female academic staff during the 2012/2013 academic session. Eboiyehi, Fayomi and Eboiyehi (2016) opine that the under-representation and discrimination against women in the ivory tower of learning exist because of socio-cultural beliefs that leadership is the prerogative of men, inadequate numbers of qualified women, domestic and family demands, patriarchy, lack of encouragement and support, lack of leadership skills and poor mentorship among others. Aina et al (2015) opine that gender disparity, discrimination, and inequality of women in the educational sector is due to the colonial policies.

Also, discrimination against women is further evident in the diplomatic circle. Since inception, the Nigerian diplomatic scene has always been male dominated as evident in a look at Nigeria's first set of ambassadors and the history of diplomatic service. These diplomats include Adegoroye Victor, Phillip Asiodu, Chike Chukwurah, Kano Ciroma, Sanus Aminu, Dove-Edwin George, Enahoro Edward, Garba John Mamman, Haastrup Adedokun, Harriman Leslie, Ifeagwu Chukwuemeka, Igwe Dickson, Jolaoso Olujimi, Kolo Sule, Ogunsulire Omotayo, Olisemeka Ignatuius, Omololu Olumide, Sanu Olusola, Ukegbu John, Wali Isa, and William Soji, This suggests that gender has not been an integral part of the evolution of Nigeria's diplomatic

history. Also, of the country's twenty foreign affairs ministers since independence, only two were women most of whom were political appointees. Simply stated, since independence, Nigeria has had twenty External Affairs Ministers and of these, two have been women: Dr. Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala and Prof. Joy Ogwu both of whom had about the shortest and most unexciting tenures. It is pertinent to note that discrimination against women resulted in their exclusion and both derive from prejudice and cultural belief that hinder women's inclusion in the process towards social change.

Correspondingly, there is an increasing concern about discrimination against women living with HIV/AIDS (Ige and Adekile, 2012). It is estimated that out of the 25.4 million people living with HIV/AIDS in Africa, women account for 13.3 million and make up 57% adults infected in the region. They are more susceptible to discrimination based on their health status and this discrimination can take various forms including pre-employment testing leading to refusal to hire and dismissal without medical evidence, notice or hearing, demotion, denial of health insurance benefits, salary reductions and harassment. This was the experience of Georgina Ahamefule who had worked as an auxiliary nurse for five years after which her employment was abruptly terminated following news of her HIV-positive status (Ige and Adekile, 2012). Ebisi and Ojukwu (2015) say that the proportion of married women in employment is lower than that of single, separated or divorced women. They further assert that women are also discriminated against in terms of recruitment, staff development, training, promotion and recognition of service. Discrimination in terms of opportunity for staff development and training mostly affects married women because they require their husbands' permission to work, attend courses, go on local and overseas' official trips. Coupled with this fact, male superiors are reluctant to make these trips with married women. It is also observed that the ratio of employed women to men is lower and women are likely to be discriminated against based on not only their gender but their status. A study of the implication of gender discrimination on poverty reduction in Ngor Okpala Local Government Area of Imo State, South –East Nigeria finds that discrimination of women leads to increased poverty level and psychological effects such as low self-esteem and lack of confidence which subsequently affect poverty reduction and women empowerment negatively (Anyoha, Chikaire, and Nwakwasi, 2015).

It has been further noted that discrimination against women in the community was rooted in educational backwardness, unemployment, low income, attitude towards women, customs and belief, family conditions, weak community sanction for discrimination and religious belief. Also, discrimination led to low self-esteem, lack of confidence, total dependence on husband which many times aided domestic violence, infant and maternal mortality, emotional trauma, personal isolation, increased unemployment of women and increased poverty level. Gender discrimination also can reflect negatively on the organization's performance and affects business growth, compromise quality of workforce by creating an unwholesome work environment, and this lead to poor retention of women (Owoyemi and Olusanya, 2014). Fapohunda (2012:107) further notes that

Women face several constraints in the labour market some of which include; their disproportionate concentration in vulnerable forms of work; horizontal and vertical occupational segregation; wage gaps and the unequal division of unpaid domestic work. These constraints are direct results of women's disadvantage in education; lack of organized voice and bargaining power; constraints on labour market mobility; relatively high involvement in part-time or temporary jobs; concentration in employment where pressures of global competition keep wages down; and direct discrimination.

Also, section 26 (2) (a) of the Constitution discriminates against women when it permitted a Nigerian woman (married) to acquire Nigerian citizenship, unlike a man who is not expected to do so. This is express discrimination on the ground of gender (Dada, 2014). However, this discrimination against women in term of citizenship was recently reversed.

2. 1. 18 Rights to Food

The right to food does not only emphasize the right to sufficient amount of calories and necessary nutrients required for one's health, rather, it emphasizes right to physical and economic access to means of producing it at all times. It also includes the right to ownership of means of production as well the right of women "to own, or use or otherwise control housing, land, and property on an equal basis with men, and to access necessary resources to do so" (IWRAP and ESCR-Net, 2013). Gender inequalities in the distribution of income, access to productive inputs such as credit, command over property, control over earned income, as well as gender biases in labour markets increases women susceptibility to chronic poverty (Anyoha,

Chikaire, and Nwakwasi, 2015). Federal Government's (2012), "Statistics on Gender Employment in Nigeria," shows that there is a consistent wide gap between the income generation and employment opportunities of women and men in almost all sectors of the Nigerian society (Ejumudo 2013).

A British Council's (2012) report on gender relations in Nigeria further asserts that "women's ability to make a living is constrained by lack of access to the six key assets (human, natural, financial, physical, social and political assets) which the livelihoods framework highlights." Women's rights to livelihood are hampered by lack of access to land, finance and decent employment. Reports also show that women constitute 60 to 70 % of labour, yet men are five times more likely to own land than women. The British Council's report further reveals that the low level of land ownership by women has several implications. First, it limits their ability to take advantage of land-based livelihood strategy. Secondly, it impacts their ability to delays investment decisions, access finance and diminishes their earning potential of agriculture. Thirdly, deficiency in land ownership for women in urban areas has consequences not only for housing because many urban micro-enterprises use homes as a staging post but also for security, access to services and wealth creation. Women also lack access to finance. This is further buttressed by the statistics from the National Bureau of Statistic (2009) which shows that men are twice as likely to obtain finance compared to women. Same report reveals that in 2007 for example, only 8,550 women secure loans compared to 20,098 men. About 64% of the N528, 251 that was loaned went to male applicants.

2. 1. 19 Rights to Housing

The right to housing is understood as encompassing all those elements in a residence that are essential to a life with dignity: a healthy living environment, security from outside or domestic violations, threats to necessary services, and freedom to choose one's place of settlement as well as freedom from forced evictions (IWRAW and ESCR-Net, 2013). The treaties by ICESCR and CEDAW encourage states to prohibit forced eviction and ensure that laws are made and enforced against its 'agents or third parties who carry out forced evictions'. The treaty stated that "If an eviction is absolutely necessary, it must be carried out in conformity with international human rights laws and must not result in homelessness." Forced evictions are a gross violation of

international law on human rights among which are article 11 of international economic and socio-cultural rights and law, and article 25 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Forced eviction has been recognized to be one of the leading causes of homelessness in the world today. Forced eviction and demolition affect more women than men because of their precarious situation during and after the eviction and demolition process (UNHABITAT, 2014). The United Nations' Special Rapporteur on Adequate Housing (2004) notes in Paragraph 41 that

Women are especially vulnerable to forced evictions because of the discrimination they face as domestic, migrant and sex trade workers. Women are vulnerable to being evicted from accommodations that are provided with their work, while married women are susceptible to evictions because of dowry-related issues and the potentials of domestic violence, divorce or becoming widowed (Farha, 2011).

According to Ngwakwe (2002) a study by the Social and Economic Rights Action Center (SERAC) on the effect of forced evictions on women revealed that in the demolition of Maroko community in Lagos in 1990, 75% of the evicted families relied on women's income for their survival. According to SERAC's study, the implication of the Makoko forced eviction and the concomitant loss of family income are numerous (Ngwakwe, 2002). They include a decline in the standard of living, landlord turned to tenant and in worrisome cases turn to squatters; student became street hawkers, once employed women became jobless, 70% of young women who were school dropouts, while their brothers continued their education. The increase in the number of young girls/women who drop-out from schools leads to the increasing incident of teenage pregnancy, forced marriage, vulnerability to rape, prostitution (which makes them vulnerable to sexually transmitted diseases), living with partners before marriage and exposure to domestic violence.

Makoko evictions also led to increasing rate of divorce and separation as many men used the opportunity to abandon their families, leaving their wives to cater for the families while others were separated from their families in search of income (Ngwakwe, 2002). The forced evictions in Maroko were also characterized by discrimination in government's attempts to settle people temporarily in another community. For instance, women who possessed properties aside those owned by their spouses were denied settlement once their husbands were settled. About 89% of widow in the study were denied settlement, single women who had their own property were also

denied replacement. About 98% of women in the study suffered ill health because they witnessed the demolition processes compared to their husband who did not.

Forced eviction often leads to loss of connection in cases where families and communities have lived in eviction site for many generations; it leads to loss of social support network, trauma among others (Farha, 2011). Also, in the urban areas, many landlords often avoid letting their houses to female-headed households because of a culturally biased belief that women cannot adequately cater for a family. Some widows had been ejected from their residences after losing their husbands not because they could not pay the rent but out of prejudice (Lewu, 2011).

2.1.20 Rights to Water and Sanitation

The two treaties (ICESCR Articles 11 and 12; CEDAW Article 14,h) note the indispensable role of water in the daily life of women by emphasizing that “the full enjoyment of the right to water means access to water that is affordable, clean and physically accessible”. The treaties further affirm that states signatory to the treaties must ensure women’s security is not threatened when physically accessing water. Studies have revealed that rural women in developing countries have the major responsibility for household water supply (Parbring, 2009; WEDO, 2007). Similarly, other studies have shown that women are exposed to a lot of harm in an attempt to access water as well as health issues because they carry water on their heads over a long distance journey. For instance, a study by the World Health Organization (WHO) (2005) reveals that “the increasing time women spend on long journeys collecting water and carrying heavy pots of water over long periods of time causes cumulative damage to the spine, the neck muscles, and the lower back, thus leading to the ageing of the vertebral column, exhaustion and damage to bones” (WHO, 2005).

This lack of access to portable water and the long hours spent collecting water has several implications for women empowerment. First, it decreases the amount of time women spend on other activities that aid their personal development and especially for young girls, it reduces the amount of time spent on education. The consequences of less time for learning means higher level of illiteracy and lower education status. WHO (2011) opine that the implication of lower education status is that it constraints women to access health information or early warning systems as they are developed. Additionally, this also means girls and women will have less access and opportunities in the labour market, increased health risks associated with pregnancy

and childbirth, and less control over their personal lives. Secondly, women are susceptible to violence and other forms of harm while traveling long distances to collect water. Thus, ICESCR and CEDAW note that states that are a signatory to the treaty must consider as part of the right to water “the disproportionate burden women bear in the collection of water.” UNICEF estimates that in Africa alone, people spend 40 billion hours every year just walking to collect water (Oladimeji and Nwaosu, 2015).

Furthermore, a 2008 report on Water and Sanitation in Nigeria by UNICEF states that “water and sanitation coverage rates in Nigeria are amongst the lowest in the world” and women are the most affected by lack of water and sanitation and suffer most from health and security issues associated with it (UNICEF, 2008). The report adds that “Nigeria is in the bottom 25 countries worldwide in terms of sanitation coverage” and 57 million people in Nigeria do not have access to safe water. The report further observes that the federal, states and Local Government Areas (LGAs) have very limited budgets and human resources capacity for the provision of water and other social services which are their responsibility.

Women are regarded as strategic users of water, meaning they know and understand water resources management from a quality, reliability, source and location perspectives (Naidoo, 2013). More so, women have the sole responsibility for providing water for the household, sanitation, food production and preparation and other productive uses. Naidoo further reveal that women right to water is also significant because women play a key role with regard to the multiple uses of water in and around homes, particularly the use and management of water in small-scale activities and in agriculture that permit both men and women to grow more crops down to vegetables and rearing of livestock. In addition, women’s water requirements range beyond domestic needs to productive uses of water at the household level; including a variety of small-scale activities that enable poor men and women to rear livestock, grow subsistence food and undertake informal micro-enterprises (Schaefer-Preuss, 2012).

In Nigeria, a study by Water Aid (2012a) reports that 54 million Nigerian women and girls lack safe and adequate sanitation and 17 million of those do not have a toilet at all. Lack of sanitation has implication for productive time and Water Aid reports that lack of sanitation cost women and girls in Nigeria 3.1 billion hours each year. A study by Ifabiyi, Usman; Oire and Aledare (2010) on the productive time of women and water supply in Ijumu, Local Government Area, Kogi

State, shows that lack of portable water in this community leads to water borne diseases like diarrhea and lots of productive time is spent on collecting water due to distances to water points, and source of water.

Water Aid also says that every year, over 85,000 mothers in Nigeria lose a child each to diarrhea diseases caused by a lack of adequate sanitation and clean water. A study of women living in five slums areas: Ajegunle, Ijora, Badia, Oko Agbon and Otto-Oyingbo in Lagos Nigeria by Water Aid in 2012 explains that “one in five women had first or second-hand experience of verbal harassment and intimidation, or had been threatened or physically assaulted in the last year when going to the toilet” (Water Aid, 2012b). Oloukoi (2014) also observes that most women lack access to water and long distance of water source affect household chores and the most productive hour is spent collecting water. Furthermore, a study by Otufale and Coster (2012), on the health implications of water scarcity and drudgery of water collection on women’s Health in Ogun State of Nigeria reveals that waterborne diseases like cholera, typhoid fever, guinea worm, hookworm, and bilharzia affect women’s health and impact negatively on productivity in farm work.

It is important to note that access to water does not only affect the health of women, it also affects women’s education. An estimated 1.9 billion school days could have been gained if the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) related to safe water supply and sanitation were achieved and the incidence of diarrhoeal illness reduced (Hutton, and Haller, 2004, cited in UNICEF, 2012). Aboderin (2015) extensively notes that the old MDG 1, 4, 5, 6, and 7 targets could not be achieved partly because of water problem. More so, he observed that there is a converse correlation between the availability of water and levels of extreme poverty; environmental degradation, rampant diseases child mortality and maternal illnesses. He further predicts that seven (7) of the new 17 Sustainable Development Goals (namely, 1, 3, 6, 10, 13, 14, and 15) suffer without better access to consistent safe water (with its knock-on effect of bringing about better sanitation and better hygiene practices).

2. 1. 21 Rights to Education

The right to education emphasizes the right to accessible, acceptable, available and adaptable education. It also focuses on the right to equality and non-discrimination and freedom to choose

the kind and content of education. Also, the ICESCR admonishes that the “state parties ensures (sic), in particular through information and awareness-raising campaigns, that families desist from giving preferential treatment to boys when sending their children to school, and that curricula promote equality and non-discrimination”. The treaty further asks states to ensure free universal primary education for girls and boys and to “ensure the safety of children, in particular, girls, on their way to and from school as well as when in school”. The right to education also includes that state parties should provide “vocational and adult education and lifelong learning which are crucial for women’s enjoyment of human rights, as well as to ensure ...equality.”

Education is important because it helps women take advantage of opportunities in formal, economic institutions that could benefit them and their families, prepare them for the labour force and help them understand their legal as well as their reproductive rights (Aja-Okorie, 2013). She further argues that basic education provides girls and women with an understanding of basic health; nutrition and family planning, and gives them the control and choices to decide their own lives and bodies. Women's education leads directly to better reproductive health, economic growth for the family and for society, improved family health, as well as lower rates of child mortality and malnutrition. It is pertinent to note that contrary to the provision of these legal frameworks and the importance of education for the actualization for women’s rights, the reality for girl or women in Nigeria is a paradox. Similarly, despite the progress in school enrolment for girls, a British Council report (2012) establishes that in eight Northern states in Nigeria, over 80% of women are unable to read (compared with 54% for men). Furthermore, in Jigawa State, 94% of women (42% of men) are illiterate.

The report of the Commission on the Review of Higher Education in Nigeria popularly referred to as the "Longe Report" shows that under social and economic constraints, boys' education takes precedence over girls' when parental resources are limited, especially for higher education (Lewu, 2011). Other reports have also shown that 63% of women are illiterates compared to 41% of men in the world and 10% of illiterate women in the world are from Nigeria. Also, of the 18% of girls between ages of 15-19 years in Nigeria who give birth to babies, 2 out of 3 of this girl cannot read (UNICEF, 2010; Uwameiye and Iserameiya, 2013). British Council’s (2012) report identifies factors responsible for the low level of girl enrollment in schools to include; pregnancy or expulsion for pregnancy, expectations of doing chores at school (e.g. water collection)

marriage or expectations of marriage, costs, levies and charges, distance to the school, ill health, harassment, bullying, discrimination or punishment at school as well as dangers at or on the way to school.

2. 1. 22 Rights to the Highest Attainable standard of Physical and Mental Health

Health has been regarded as wealth. The World Health Organization defines health as a state of complete physical, mental, and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity (WHO, 1946). Health is the absence of a disease and completeness in physical, mental, and social/emotional wellbeing (Omoruyi and Kunle, 2011). The right to health is not only limited to the right to have the best available health care, but extends to the right of women to have control over their bodies and their health, referred to as reproductive and sexual rights. The 1981 Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) states that parties must “eliminate discrimination against women in their access to health care services, throughout the life cycle, particularly in the areas of family planning, pregnancy, and during the post-natal period.”

The right to health as contained in CEDAW also encompasses the rights to “decide freely on the number and the timing of their children, and to have access to information, education, among other to enable them to exercise these rights” This right also includes the right of women regardless of marital status for the guardianship, wardship, trusteeship and adoption of children; the right to health is closely related to and dependent upon the realization of other human rights, as contained in the International Bill of Rights. It extends to the “rights to education, food, housing, work, human dignity, life, the prohibition against torture, privacy, non-discrimination, equality, access to information, and the freedoms of association, assembly and movement” (International Women’s Rights Action Watch–Asia Pacific (IWRAW) & International Network for Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ESCR-Net), 2013).

According to a UN report (1994), ‘unequal power relations between men and women often limit women’s control over sexual activities and their inability to protect themselves against unwanted pregnancy and sexually transmitted diseases including HIV/AIDS’ (Olabisi, Aransiola and Osezua, 2009). In Nigeria, it has been observed that several cultural practices and issues violate the fundamental right of women to access highest and attainable standard of physical and mental health. These cultural practices include rape, gender-based violence, widowhood practice, female

genital mutilation and child marriage among others. For instance, female genital mutilation has been found to lead to several short and long-term health effects such as hemorrhaging, pain and shock; painful sexual intercourse and inability to find sexual satisfaction and fulfillment, severe bleeding, and the inability to urinate leading to the death of many girls (Oyekale, 2014, Yerima and Atidoga, 2014). Also, many of the victims of FGM have been found to develop infections such as tetanus, hepatitis, HIV, chronic bladder and pelvic infections, the development of excessive scar tissue, infertility, cysts at the site of the procedure, and problems of complication (Ijaiya, 2006).

The Federal Ministry of Health affirms that up to 40 percent of pregnant women in the country have no access to antenatal care, while the percentage of births attended to by trained personnel has declined (Fapohunda, 2012). Nigeria has one of the worst maternal mortality rates in the world with one woman dying every 10 minutes during delivery. That is 545 deaths per every 100,000 successful deliveries (Abara, 2012). Women's reproductive health is further hindered by the criminalization of abortion under the Nigerian law. Sections 328 and 236 of the Criminal and Penal Codes define the offence of killing an unborn child. These Codes provide for the penalty of life imprisonment for any person who by an act of oversight or directive prevents a child from being born alive by a woman or about to be delivered of a child (Aniekan, 2014). The criminalization of abortion refuses to take into cognizance the risk of unsafe abortion which results in high incidence of death of women in the hands of an unqualified medical practitioner who illegally procures abortion for these women (Kechere, 2015).

According to Olabisi, Aransiola and Osezua (2009), lack of reproductive and or sexual right has several consequences such as increased risk of HIV and sexually transmitted infections, inability of women to assess voluntary counseling and inability to reduce mother-child transmission of HIV. They further observe that sexually transmitted diseases (STDs) afflict five times more women than men and women are more vulnerable to HIV infection than men and are becoming infected at a faster rate. In Africa, HIV-positive women outnumbered infected men by 2 million.

2.1.23 Women's Economic and Social Cultural Rights (ESCR) in Pre-Colonial Lagos and Ogun States

There is an abundant wealth of literature that points to Yoruba women's economic, social and cultural rights in the pre-colonial era. These literatures not only document the social status of Yoruba women, but also their economic prowess and cultural agility. Scholars, such as Niara Sudarkasa (1973), Bernard Belasco (1980), Trager (1976, 1977a, 1977b, 1981 1990), Falola (1995) and Johnson (1982) to name a few, have noted female power and dominance in trade and in the marketplace. Their works have explored the role of women as the main economic actors in Yorùbá trade. This assertion is not to suggest that men were absent from the market place, but their works seem to affirm that women have been responsible for the control of major commodities within the marketplace, including foodstuffs, cloth, household items, and various other items such as beads.

Johnson (1982) asserts that women occupy significant roles in the economic and social life of precolonial Nigeria specifically in the Southwest. Women not only engaged in produce grown by men, they also made crafts. Thus, their trading activities gave them voice in the public domain and ensured that their rights were upheld: the right to representation in decision-making bodies, inheritance e.t.c. While this did not mean that women were socially and politically equal to men, it did mean that they wielded influence in policy-making and possessed institutional mechanisms for making that influence.

Denzer (1994) corroborates Johnson's position that women played crucial roles in the precolonial Yoruba economy, noting the testimonies of early writers, nineteenth-century travellers and missionaries and explorers such as Hugh Clapperton (1826), Richard and John Lander (1830), Thomas Bowen (1857), William H. Clarke and Anna Hinderer (1873), providing evidence about women's role in local market organization and trade, in pre-colonial Yoruba land. Denzer, citing the case of 'The Lander brothers' remarks that "The women of Jenna employ themselves generally either in spinning cotton or preparing Indian corn for food." Yoruba women monopolized making pottery, dying cloth, processing palm and nut oils, and making soap in Ibadan, South- West Nigeria.

Denzer (1994) further notes that except for the very elderly and infirm, all women in precolonial Yoruba society engaged in household production, crafts or trade careers. Also, trading

constitutes major activities of women in urban centres and their training began early. Under the guidance or coaching of their mothers, guardians and female relatives, little girls hawked various commodities. New brides normally expected their husbands to give them starting capital for independent trading and women's trading activities varied according to their means, ranging from selling small quantities of food items outside the compound or in the local markets to long-distance trading on a very large scale. He opines further that Yoruba women controlled their own economic activities and the profits made from them. Big traders employed both slave and freeborn labour (male and female); they fixed prices, controlled the movement of goods, and established and ran their own crafts guilds or associations.

Denzer (1994) also posits that women forged large trading networks between the European traders and Yorubaland interior on the coast. They sometimes maintained private armies, owned many slaves, and operated extensive plantations. Lawuyi and Olupona (1987) in their article "Making Sense of the Aje Festival: Wealth, Politics, and the Status of Women among the Ondo of Southwestern Nigeria" note the influence of Ajé 'Female Yoruba deity of the marketplace,' as emphasis of the powerful role that women play in Yoruba society. Sudarkasa asserts that Yoruba women have "been involved in the distribution of goods for as long as the Yorùbá have lived in urban areas" (Sudarkasa, 1973). Female models of power and agency are found within the economic, political, domestic, and ritual spheres of Yorùbáland. Lawuyi and Olupona also point out that the marketplace is a public sphere, which is feared by African indigenous rulers because it is not controlled exclusively by men, since it is the arena where the most biting criticisms of the state are made through the gossip of the market women and the open conversations that go on as people meet and conduct business (2011).

Finally, Belasco (1980) in his book "The Entrepreneur as Culture Hero" explores the origins of the deity Ajé (a Yoruba deity responsible for entrepreneurship) and her relation to the economic sphere. In doing this, he seeks to examine whether or not Yoruba land was pre-adapted to capitalism prior to the arrival of the Europeans. Belasco further asserts that "markets are the vehicle by which women could hoard goods, withdrawing them from social circulation and inviting disapproval and even witchcraft accusations" (Belasco, 1980). This book reveals why Yoruba women by the reason of their entrepreneurial prowess wielded economic power and

were long predisposed to capitalism before European intrusion that interrupted the evolution of their brand of capitalism.

2.1.24 Women's Economic and Socio-Cultural Rights (ESCR) in Colonial Lagos and Ogun States

Studies about women's economic, social and cultural rights in the colonial era were less visible arguably because the categorization of these rights as known today was not yet done. More so, ESCR is in some sense was interwoven with other rights in so much that one cannot discuss one without the other. For instance, a social and cultural right for instance derives from economic power or access and a good acknowledgement of economic rights. However, from historical research available, Yoruba women maintained their status as household producers and traders throughout the colonial era; they managed to extend their influence, expanding production in some areas, such as gari and vegetable oils (Denzer, 1994). Similarly, they managed to maintain and sometimes extend their leadership roles in society. While aspects of their former roles as leaders declined, particularly in traditional politics, new ones emerged, providing evidence of women's ready adaptability to new circumstances.

The colonial courts' interpretation of Yoruba inheritance practices, which allowed women to inherit their fathers' property and rights under certain situations, paved the way for women to own property and land in the Western sense (Denzer, 1994). Thus, it can be argued that despite the restraint of colonialism, women in the informal sector were able to excel though in a limited way in the economy of the pre-colonial government.

2.1.25 Women's Economic, Social and Cultural Rights in Post-Colonial Lagos State.

The ESCR's rights of women in Lagos is still scantily documented for several reasons but dominantly because of lack of gender disaggregated data, stigmatization and shaming of women whose rights have been abused. However, available evidence shows that women's ESCR rights are grossly abused. For instance, a study by Oyekanmi, and Majekodunmi (2016) on selected state civil departments namely, Ministries of Education, Health, Establishment, Training and Pensions and the Civil Service Commission in Lagos State show an imbalance gender representation for staff. The "invisibility" of women in public life and consequently in political, economic and professional activities is both the cause and consequence of their being consistently barred from positions of authority.

A study by Thompson (2015) and Alo, Kareem and Olayinka (2014) on prevalence, frequency and consequences of violence against women in Southwest, Lagos and Ogun states inclusive found that while violence varies with parity, union and educational status, its prevalence rate against women remains at a high rate of 45% among over 360 married or cohabiting women selected. Also, more than one in every four women reported sexual violence (28.8%), 22% have experienced severe violence more than six times and 48% of the women who have experienced violence in the 12 months preceding the survey have been attacked more than once.

The Lagos State Police Command recorded 678 cases of rape in the State between March 2012 and March 2013 (Ogbo, 2013). Bimbolakemi, Akinbi and Adewale (2014:472-478) found sexual assault to be prevalent among girls in the geo-political zone and 50 to 90 percent of all rape or attempted cases of rape were unreported due to shame, humiliation, guilt, and cultural taboos. Others are fear of victimization at the hands of medical authorities, lack of evidences and distortion of evidences by law enforcement agents and inadequate exhibits for prosecution.

More so, a study by Olabisi (2013) found a lack of gender sensitivity in urban renewal efforts. She revealed that urban renewal programmes resulted in hardship for women evident in their inability to pay for new market shops and secure another start- up capital, problems with transferring some of their children to live with relatives and constant harassments by local government officials in an attempt to dissuade them from reorganization as well as devastating health implication in a bid to cope. A study by Oni and Okanlawon (2011) which examined female representation among transport planners/providers/traffic management agencies such as the Federal Road Safety Corps (FRSC), Nigeria Police Force, Nigerian Railway Corporation (NRC), and Lagos Metropolitan Area Transport Authority (LAMATA) at the management level in Lagos state, they found that the proportion of women in management position among transport planners in Nigeria and particularly in Lagos is insignificant and that women are not adequately represented in management position among transport planners/providers and traffic management agencies in Nigeria. The table below testifies to the claim of the study.

Table 2.16: Gender Representation at the Federal level (Nigeria)

Traffic management agencies/Transport Providers	Total number of people at the management level	Total no of men	Total no of women	Percentage Share of women (%)

Nigeria Police Force	7 (1 Inspector general and 6 Deputy inspector generals)	7	-	0.0
FRSC	20 Management staff 37 Sector Commanders	19	13	5.0
		34		8.1
NRC	12 Management staff 20 Board	11	11	8.3
	Members	19		5.0

Note: FRSC- Federal Road Safety Corps, NRC-Nigerian Railway Corporation (2011)

Source: (Oni and Okanlawon, 2011)

Table 2.17: Gender allocation at the State level (Lagos State)

Transport planner /provider	Total number of people at the management level	Total no.of men	Total no. of women	Percentage of women (%)
LAMATA	7	5	2	28.6
2.Lagos State Ferry	7	7	-	0.0
Services Corporation				

Note: LAMATA-Lagos Metropolitan Area Transport Authority (2011)

Source: (Oni and Okanlawon, 2011)

Table 2.18: Gender allocation at the Local Government Level (Alimosho and Ikeja Local Government Areas)

<i>Traffic Mana</i>	<i>Number of</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>No. of</i>
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<i>gement Unit (TMU)</i>	<i>TMU Personnel</i>	<i>of men</i>	<i>Women</i>
<i>Alimosho LGA</i>			
Igando-Ikotun LCDA	17	17	-
Egbe-Idimu LCDA	11	11	-
Mosan-Okunola LCDA	17	17	-
Akowonjo-Ali mosho LCDA	21	21	-
Ayobo-Ipaja LCDA	18	18	-
Agbado- Oke-odo LCDA	7	7	-
<i>Ikeja LGA</i>			
Onigbongbo LCDA	13	13	-
Ikeja LCDA	15	15	-
Ojodu LCDA	15	15	-

Note: LGA-Local Government Area, LCDA-Local XCouncil Development Area (2011)

Source: (Oni and Okanlawon, 2011)

2.1.26 Women's Economic, Social and Cultural Rights in Post-Colonial Ogun State.

Studies on ESCR rights of women in postcolonial Nigeria are scanty. However, available studies on the subject show that women's ESCR rights in this area remain very poor. Domestic violence is very rampant and under-reported by victims among women in the state according to the study by Ashimolowo and Otufale (2012). The consensus among the respondents in the study is that socio-cultural factors promote domestic violence in the study area. One of the coping strategies adopted by the women to alleviate domestic violence were not fighting back or confronting the perpetrators and remaining silent. Another study by the same authors on effects of domestic violence on the livelihood of women in Ogun State indicated that it affects women's access to productive resource, access to information on improved technologies. Also, women do not have enough money to participate in income generating activities or agricultural livelihood activities after domestic violence. A study by Ibem and Azuh (2013) finds that housing provided by the Government of Ogun State did not adequately capture the housing preferences and needs of low and middle-income women. The main source of dissatisfaction could be traced to poor access to basic services and social infrastructure in the housing estates.

2.1.27 Women's Rights Advocacy in Nigeria

Women's rights advocacy is a global movement that cut across most regions and continents of the world. The struggle for women liberalization is not peculiar to Nigeria; just as it exists in other parts of Africa, Asia, Europe, and America (Ayeeni and Ajibogun, 2013). Advocacy towards the promotion of women's and girls' rights in Nigeria has taken several forms. As a member of the global community, Nigeria is a signatory to several international treaties that pertain to women's rights. Some of these international treaties applicable to women's rights and ratified by Nigeria include the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) on 29 July, 1993, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) on 29 July, 1993, the International Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination (CERD) on 16 October, 1967, and Optional Protocol on ICCPR concerning individual petition. Others are the Convention against Torture and other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (CAT) signed on 28 June, 2001, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) on 23 April, 1984, and the Optional Protocol on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women on 22 November, 2004 (Dada, 2014).

Nigeria is also a founding member of several intergovernmental organizations on the continent as she is signatory to the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and People's Rights (2005), and the African Union Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality (2004) (Adefi and Aladi, 2012; Oni and Segun 2012; Nnadi, 2012). At the national level, Nigeria also formulated a National Policy on Women in 2000 and later replaced it with the National Policy on Gender Equality in 2007 (Kura and Yero, 2013). The aim of the National Gender Policy which took effect on 15 August 2008 is to give women 35 per cent affirmative action in decision making positions. Similarly, previous administrations have responded positively towards the gender question in diverse ways. These responses include amongst others the creation of a Federal Ministry of Women Affairs and its affiliated agencies such as the National Council of Women's Societies (NCWS), which provide supplementary and statutory avenues for the promotion and protection of women issues and the advancement of women's roles in national development (Ngara and Ayabam, 2013). Another effort at the national level to ensure women equality and access to decision making in Nigeria is the Nigerian Women Trust Fund inaugurated on 24 March 2011 in Abuja by the Ministry of Women and Social Development, which aimed to assist candidates at

the poll. The 100 million Naira Trust Fund was set up to help offset the campaign costs of about 230 female aspirants no matter their political affiliations (Okoronkwo-Chukwu, 2013).

Also, the media have collaborated with the Federal Ministry of Women Affairs in providing publicity, advocacy on gender equality issues, sensitization, awareness creation and reporting cases of abuse and violence against women, and drawing public attention to the achievements, contribution and meritorious service of notable women currently in positions of leadership by the using international media such as CNN, BBC, NTA+, VOA, VON and AIT (Glady, 2011). In addition, there are also numerous NGOs promoting issues on women's rights including Justice, Development and Peace Commission (JDPC), Gender and Development Action (GADA), Community Partners for Development (CPD), Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA), Federation of Muslim Women Association of Nigeria (FOMWAN), and the National Association of Women Lawyers (NAWL) to mention but few (Omotola, 2007).

On the global platform, the United Nations' advocacy has taken several forms. For instance, the UN declared 1975 as the International Women's Year and also organized her first World Conference on women in the same year in Mexico. Subsequently, it declared the years 1976-1985 as the UN Decade for Women, and established a Voluntary Fund for the said decade. Since then, the UN has engaged numerous advocacy tools in advancing the rights of all women on all fronts and it has held several conferences and developed frameworks as response to the global outcry on human rights which include the rights of women. Such frameworks comprise the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) (1948), the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural right (ICESC) (1976), the International Convention on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) (1976), and the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) 1981. Since then, the UN has held Four World conferences in Copenhagen (1980), Nairobi (1985), Vienna (1993), and Beijing (1995) on women's rights and related issues.

Also, the UN has programs and agencies dedicated to uplifting the status of women around the world (Agbalajobi, 2010) one of which is the UN Women established in July 2010 by the UN General Assembly with the goal of advancing gender equality and the empowerment of women. UN Women is a merger of four previously distinct arms of the UN system which focused

primarily on gender equality and women empowerment. They include International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women (INSTRAW), Division for the Advancement of Women (DAW), Office of the Special Adviser on Gender Issues and Advancement of Women (OSAGI), and the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM)). Also, the essence of advancing gender equality and empowerment has formed a critical tool for promoting human development as captured by the UNDP. For instance, the third objective of the just ended Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) is focused on promoting gender equality and elimination of gender disparities in primary and secondary education enrolment and achieve equity at all levels by 2015 (Glady, 2011; Okpalaobi 2011). Similarly, advancing women's rights and specifically gender equality is the fifth goal of the present Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) of the UN.

Similarly, since independence, most especially in the 1980s, there have been efforts by successive wives of heads of state and presidents to promote women's rights through the office of the first lady via their various pet projects. Prominent among these first ladies' projects is Maryam Babangida's 'Better Life for Rural Women Programme' (BLP). Bawa (2014) in her study of the office of the first ladies in Nigeria has noted that successive first ladies since the 1980s, beginning with Mrs. Maryam Babagida, have used the office to promote varying issues from championing the fight against HIV/AIDS, maternal and child health, promotion of women empowerment, to promoting peace in the conflict regions of Africa. She specifically notes the pet projects of Mrs. Babagida (BLP), Mrs. Abacha's Family Support Programme (FSP) between 1994-1998, Mrs. Titi Abubakar's Women's Rights Advancement and Protection Alternative (WRAPA) to Mrs. Stella Obasanjo's Childcare Trust (CCT), all aimed at promoting women's rights in one way or another.

Furthermore, advocacy efforts were and have been intensified by individual female icons like late Margaret Thatcher, Hillary Clinton, Sheryl Sanberg, the youngest Nobel laureate Malala Yousafzai, the 15-year-old girl who was shot by the Pakistani Taliban for campaigning for girls' rights to education; others are prominent feminist scholars with each focusing on diverse aspects of gender relations, issues, experiences and status. Notable among these feminist scholars are Barbara Risman, Joan Brumberg, Carol Gilligan, Patricia H. Collins, Sandra Harding and Dorothy E. Smith (Lord, Greiter and Tursunovic, (2009).

As a result of these advocacy efforts, numerous women as star icons have been produced across the different strata of the society. Two of them are Late Dora Akunyili and Dr. Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala. It is pertinent to note that in spite of the above advocacy efforts, a UNDP report asserts that women participation in politics and decision-making remains grossly inadequate (Asaju and Adagba, 2013). A study conducted in 2012 by the British Council titled *Gender in Nigeria* reports that the country currently stands at 118th out of 192 countries in terms of gender parity, thereby lagging far behind fellow African countries such as South Africa (43%) and Rwanda (65%) (Ngara and Ayabam, 2013).

2.1.28 Advocacy and Women's rights in Ogun and Lagos States

There have been several advocacy responses in form of non-profit advocacy, policy advocacy, and engagement of celebrity and use of electronic advocacy (E-advocacy) based on issues about women's rights in the society. This section examines specifically each advocacy measure aimed at addressing concerns about women's rights in the two states.

2.1.29 Policy Advocacy of Lagos and Ogun States

Lagos State has been described in most ranking and studies of gender inequality index as the most gender sensitive and progressive state in Southwest and Nigeria. In a report that emerged from Lagos State Government in collaboration with the United Kingdom's State Partnership for Accountability, Responsiveness and Capability (SPARC), reforms have taken place and in progress in gender relations by key institution in the state. Specifically, this is conspicuous in a leaflet that presents results from SPARC-supported reforms in Lagos as they relate to Gender and Social Inclusion (G and SI). The report claims that Lagos has a gender sensitive development plan because the 2013 Lagos State Development Plan which provides the overall direction for the development of the state over the next 15 years is gender sensitive. Specifically, it has gender and social inclusion (G and SI) agenda with four pillars underpinning the development plan: Economic Development, Infrastructure Development, Social Development and Security and Sustainable Environment. G and SI cuts across all four pillars, and the Social Development and Security pillar contains many of the key programmes associated with gender, disabled people and vulnerable groups, as well as people living with HIV/AIDS.

Ministries, departments and agencies (MDAs) are responsible for ensuring that gender issues are given prominence in their multi-year policies and programmes (SPARC, 2013). Through G and SI-sensitive human resource management policies, the Lagos State Civil Service Rules were reviewed and new gender-sensitive sections were included. Examples include sections on adoption and paternity leave as well as maternity leave, which have been reviewed upwards from 12 to 16 weeks. A female officer who adopts an under-12 months old child is now entitled to 12 weeks' adoption leave and a male officer is entitled to five days paternity leave in a year. Lagos State now has a suite of gender-sensitive human resource management policies which include policies on diversity, social inclusion, gender and disability (SPARC, 2013). The workforce audit conducted in 2013 showed that 54% of the civil service is female, and 36% of top management level staff with consolidated pay was women (SPARC, 2015).

Lagos State, through the Ministry of Women Affairs and Poverty Alleviation (MOWAPA), empowered and trained young people and women in various skills through short and long-term vocational training programmes, to ensure delivery of the SPARC supported Medium Term Sector Strategy (MTSS) goals. This has led to a reduction of the unemployment rate in the state (SPARC, 2015). MOWAPA collaborated with the Ministry of Health to hold series of sensitization events on domestic violence, health screening for women on high blood pressure, HIV/AIDs, diabetes, and breast/cervical cancer (for women in Lagos). In collaboration with the Office of the Public Defender and Citizens' Rights Bureau, MOWAPA provided free legal services to women and their children who had been abused.

In 2014, 22,541 women were sensitized/trained through the collaborative effort, 41% more when compared to 9,355 trained in 2012 (SPARC, 2015:2). SPARC Result Report in 2015 further revealed that increased awareness has led to an increase in the reporting of cases about women and children abuses. The Performance Management Report (PMR) conducted by SPARC showed 168 cases of abuse of women and 127 of children recorded in 2012, but the PMR conducted in 2015 showed an increase of over 100% in reported abuse cases in 2014, with 450 cases of abuse of women and 505 of children reported and recorded. Lagos State Government (LASG) has been able to provide shelter and support for the victims of domestic abuse.

LASG is tackling domestic violence and other gender related crimes and has intensified awareness campaign on domestic violence through the Domestic and Sexual Violence Response Team. SPARC report revealed that in 2015, 190 officials of the State Emergency Command and Control Centre were trained on how to receive reports from victims of sexual and gender-based violence in the state (SPARC, 2015). Training also focused on the use of the 112 toll-free lines to report cases of rape, defilement, domestic violence, child abuse, neglect, maltreatment and other sexual assaults. Also, as a result of the partnership between Lagos State and State Partnership for Accountability, Responsiveness and Capability (SPARC), Lagos State has passed and/or adopted a number of laws and policies that commit her to the promotion of gender equality and social inclusion. Some of those are: Law against domestic violence (2007), National Gender Policy (2006) and Maternal and child care health policy among others.

The drawback, however, is that many of these laws and policies are yet to be translated into programmes to benefit the people for whom they were formulated. Tied to that challenge are four key gaps in MDA and sector planning processes, namely: paucity of sex and gender disaggregated data and information, Inadequate G and SI knowledge and skills, inadequate stakeholder consultations and communication, and inadequate inter-sectorial coordination. For instance while the Lagos State Protection Against Domestic Violence Law (2007) clearly recognizes economic abuse, it does not include denial of inheritance or succession rights (Onyemelukwe, 2016). This is exacerbated by low awareness among the public of the contents of the National Gender Policy (Ntiwunka, 2013). Finally, for Ogun State, not much is known on any gender sensitive policy or law in the state except that the state is in the process of passing a law on gender based violence.

2.1. 30 E-Advocacy in Lagos and Ogun States

E-advocacy is an emerging type of advocacy in both states as NGOs and individuals are beginning to use it to create awareness about women's rights. From hashtags, blogs to online campaign on selected issues that take on public consciousness, E-advocacy is gaining popularity. Since the return to civil rule and the democratization of technology evident among others by the proliferation of mobile phones and software, there have been attempts to use technology as a tool for advocacy. Notably, hashtags are now a popular means to attract attention to social issues including women's rights. The numerous activism using hashtag in Lagos include;

#IStandWithNigeria #LightUpNigeria, #OccupyNigeria protests to #ABSURape #BringBackOurGirls #OpenNASS campaign and TuFace and Enough Is Enough to mention but a few.

2.1.31 Non-Profit Advocacy in Lagos and Ogun States

There are numerous non-profit organizations advocating on women's rights in Lagos and Ogun States. According to the Corporate Affairs Commission (CAC), there are about 187,000 of this Non-Profit Organizations in Nigeria serving different purposes from charities, advocacy, and mobilization to interest groups. While CAC can ascertain the total number of NGOs, it cannot ascertain those ones that focus on women and related concerns. However, an organization in Lagos named Nigeria Network of NGOs put the number of women-based non-profit in Lagos and other states in Nigeria in its directories at five hundred and thirty (Nigeria Network of NGOs, 2016).

2.1.32 Celebrity Advocacy in Lagos and Ogun States

Celebrities in these two states have engaged with social issues. The list of celebrities, the causes they advocate and the organizations that have engaged them is listed in the appendix of this work.

2.1 33 Challenges to Women's Rights Advocacy in Nigeria

The promotion of women's right in Africa continues to be a concern as more women are left behind in poverty, deprivation, and destitution in spite of Africa being one of the fastest growing economies (Saba, 2014). It has been over three years since the launch of African Women Decade by African Union, ten years since the adoption of the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights (Maputo Protocol), over 19 years since the Beijing Platform for Action for women in 1995, and 20 years since the Women's Pre- Congress of the 7th Pan African Congress in Kampala, Uganda. Yet, actions and progress on women's rights are below the global benchmark of minimum of 35 percent in decision making.

The actualization of women's rights advocacy in Nigeria is bedeviled by several challenges which impede its full realization. The first is the misconception that characterized the notion of women's rights and those advocating it. It is viewed as a tool of western imperialism, an attempt to import the western notion of women's rights into the African culture which is patrilineal.

While those who advance women's rights (if they are female) are often viewed as divorcees, bitter and angry women who seek significance in public sphere having failed at home, men who advance the rights of women are either viewed as "woman rapa" (a Nigerian derogatory parlance for men who meddle with women issues). Being called an advocate of women's rights and a feminist comes with negative baggage and remains an unpopular stand in Nigeria.

The term feminism still conjures up images of wild, naked, domination, an undermining of African culture white women burning their bras, imperialism, etc. Feminists are subjected to ridicule and insults, and in some cases, they receive threats to their lives. They are called 'frustrated', 'castrators', 'home wreckers', 'miserable spinsters' and many other un-dignifying epithets (Fayemi, 2000). Such Women's right activists and those who identify themselves as feminists are often regarded as "un-African" and they are seen as suffering from mental colonization, upholding views which do not belong to African soil and which have no worth for African cultures or peoples, women or men (Dosekun, 2007). This misconception affects how messages on women's rights are received in the Nigeria's public space, a cog in the wheel of progress in women's rights advocacy. The second challenge to women's rights advocacy is the patriarchal culture. Most studies in this work (Oyelade (2006), Eyinade (2010), Agbalajobi (2010), Jaja (2011), Ogbogu (2012), Alewo and Olong (2012), Omodia, Erunko, and Abdul, (2013), Makama (2013) Asaju, and Adagba, (2013), Okoronkwo-Chukwu (2013), Chika, and Nneka, (2014), Nzarga, Ibrahim and Kingsley (2014) all agree that traditions, customs, socio-cultural values, and ethics are the major factors limiting the actualization of women's rights. For instance, one of the factors responsible for gender disparity in education is the cultural, social beliefs, attitudes and practices that prevent girls from benefiting from educational opportunities to the same extent as boys (Aja-Okorie, 2013).

Oyelade (2006) opines that women's rights advocacy is a myth and not a reality because of the patriarchal structure of African society which is reflective in aspects such as economics, politics, and family. Simply stated, the culture and tradition in Africa perpetuate the subordination of women. This culture works against women through outright discrimination based on gender as in the case of son preference, widowhood rights, inheritance rights, female genital mutilation, early and forced marriage, bride price, female infanticide, domestic violence, women in purdah among

others. These cultural and traditional practices translate into discrimination against women and challenge the realities of ECOSOC for women (Ngwakwe, 2002).

Another challenge to this advocacy which is related to the above is male domination of the structure of most international bodies that make law aimed at promoting and protecting women's rights. Male dominated structure or order usually excludes women's experience in decision making and many times in implementation (Okagbue, 1996). Oyelade (2006), affirming Okagbue (1996), opines that overwhelmingly, male composition of the structure of the international legal order from which most treaties that promote women's rights emanate affect not just the formulation and implementation of women's rights, but also its enforcement. This is because in a male dominated structure or order, women's experience cannot be captured, and in exceptional cases where captured in the formulation, it is ignored in implementation. The male dominated structure at the international level derives from the male-dominated structure of the national order and is reflected in the United Nations. Out of the 193 countries that are members of UN as of January 2014, 9 women served as Heads of States and 15 as Heads of Governments. Similarly, in over sixty years of the existence of UN as a global institution, there has been no female secretary general. This is in spite of its advocacy on women's rights through its many institutions and international legal frameworks. Charlesworth (1994) extensively notes that

Long term domination of all bodies wielding political power nationally and Internationally, means that issues traditionally of concern to men become seen as a general human rights concerns, while "women's concern" are relegated to a special limited category because, men generally are not the victims of sex discrimination, domestic violence and sexual degradation and violence, for example, these matters can be consigned to a separate sphere and tend to be ignored.

Furthermore, Charlesworth claims that "the definition and development of [human] rights . . . are built on typically male life experiences and . . . do not respond to the most pressing risks women face" (Charlesworth 1994). Another challenge to this advocacy in Nigeria which further reinforces the nature of male domination of political structure and its implication for women's right is the lack of political will by political leaders, evident in their unwillingness to formulate, implement, enforce and in worst case scenarios, domesticate international legal framework that seek to promote women's right. For instance, in 2016, the National Assembly rejected the Gender Equality bill on religious and cultural grounds. The bill sought to address concerns on

equal rights for women in marriage, divorce, property rights, land ownership, access to education, health care, inheritance, and other economic activities where different socio-cultural norms have denied women equal treatment with men in different parts of the country. The National Assembly was able to turn down the bill because it is male dominated. This male dominance further makes domestication of treaties impossible. Oyelade (2006) contends that “governments in Africa, including Nigeria, only pay lip service to international treaties without making efforts to domesticate them.” For instance, Honorable Dayo Bush-Alebiosu, the Chairman House Committee on Treaties and Bilateral Agreements, said in an interview that the total number of treaties that Nigeria has signed cannot be ascertained, although its committee has identified over 200 treaties but at the end of collation, there may be well over 400 treaties (Business Day Newspaper, 14 November, 2013). The domestication of treaties relating to the promotion of women’s rights is further challenged by the legislative procedure required for any treaties to become applicable in any court in Nigeria (Onomrerhinor, 2016).

The provisions on the domestication of treaties in Nigeria are enshrined in Section 12 of the 1999 Constitution which states that “No treaty between the Federation and any other country shall have the force of law except to the extent to which any such treaty has been enacted into law by the National Assembly”. The constitution further states that treaties cannot be enacted unless it is ratified by a majority of all the Houses of Assembly in the Federation. This constitutional provision not only makes domestication difficult as two third of the National Assembly vote is required to enact any treaty into law, but also makes enforcement of that law in Nigerian courts impossible. Thus, Section 12 of the 1999 Constitution is a shield for insincere politicians to undermine treaty obligations (Onomrerhinor, 2016). This is further exacerbated by the absence of clarity and focus in government’s activities and programmes are aimed at resolving the inconsistency between the constitution and Nigeria’s international commitment to treaties, conventions, and protocol (Ngwakwe, 2002). For instance, in June 2001, Nigeria ratified the convention against torture and other inhumane treatment such as capital punishment, flogging, stoning or amputation which are considered inhuman, cruel and degrading treatments by international human rights standards. Yet, under the Penal Code of Northern Nigeria and also the Nigerian Criminal Code applicable in Southern Nigeria, the reality is a paradox to the provision of the constitution (Dada, 2014).

Another challenge to the realization of women's rights is the policies and practices of international finance and development institution such as World Bank. According to Ngwakwe (2002), women suffer more from the processes of implementing the economic policies prescribed by World Bank/IMF. She cites the case of the implementation of the Lagos State drainage and sanitation project (LDSP) supported World Bank in 1997 in fifteen communities that rendered 3,000 people homeless. The LSDP which was built to de-flood the host communities and improve the living conditions of residents of that community actually aggravated the already substandard condition of the community and affected more women than men in the process. Fapohunda (2012) asserts that macroeconomic policies do not incorporate gender perspectives in their design and ignore the social relations that influence women's roles in their production. Thus, development policies in Nigeria are often gender-insensitive.

The realization of women's rights in Nigeria is also challenged by religion. It has been argued that religion re-enforces the subordination, domination and continuous subjugation of women's rights. Oyelade (2006) argues that the Judea-Christian text is replete with instructions that undermine women's rights so also is the Quran text in Islam. She cites Scripture text like 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 and 1st Timothy 2:11-12 which say "Let the woman learn in silence with all subjection. But I suffer not a woman to preach, nor to usurp authority over the men, but to be in silence". Quran chapter Nur 24:31: "The woman is forbidden to wear any apparel that purports to display her beauty in the presence of people apart from her very close relatives." In matters of inheritance "Allah commands you as regards your children's inheritance: to the male the equivalent of the portion of two females." Chapter Nisa 4:11: "... As to those women on whose part you fear misconduct, admonish them (first), (then) refuse to share their beds, (and lastly) beat them (lightly)..." Chapter 4:34 on political participation: "Never would a community succeed which entrusted the direction of its affairs to a woman" (Tradition of the Prophet Bukharee. She argues that this statement is a statement of the prophet (S.A.W.S), but by virtue of Quranic authority, is effectively a statement from Allah. In contrast to the position of Oyelade (2006), Umahi (2012) says that it is the misuse and the misinterpretation of Judea-Christian text that makes it appear that it undermines the rights of women.

Similarly, Sada, Adamu and Ahmad (2006), in their study of women's right within the Islamic context using the practice of Sharia in Northern Nigeria, opine that contrary to the blame heaped on Quran as the reason for preventing girls from attending school; using children for street hawking; withdrawing girl-child from school; lack of adequate provision; forced and early marriage; abuse of the girl-child; and unequal treatment of children by the parent, the Quran actually forbids this practice. They note that it is the misinterpretation and "politicization" of the Quran text that accounted for such abuse. Citing various portions of the holy text, they submit that the Quran actually promotes the rights of women. For instance, the Qur'an says women have rights even as they have obligations according to what is equitable (Qur'an, 2:228). On girl-child education, the scholars submit:

Preventing the girl-child from going to school is against the principle of the Sharia, which commands all Muslims, irrespective of their sex, to seek knowledge. It is a well-known fact in the history of Islam that the Prophet (SAW) used to hold special classes for women at their request.

This view is further corroborated by Salman and Modupe (2012) when they argue that Islam not only protects human rights of all irrespective of age, religion or race, but it particularly protects the economic, social and cultural rights of women. They note that women's rights are particularly impeded by inadequate/wrong interpretation of some provisions of the Quran, relating to women, the tripartite legal system as well as conflicting ideologies and cultures. They further contend that it is the misinterpretation of Quran that accounts for why women in some parts of Northern Nigeria are hindered from seeking gainful employment outside their homes. It is pertinent to note that while this contention remains on the role of religion in promoting women's rights, contemporary realities show that religion still remains a tool for the subjugation of women. Godefroy's (2015) study of women's rights and fertility in the Northern state in Nigeria revealed that the legal reform (sharia) implemented in northern Nigeria after 1999 explicitly modified women's formal rights. Under the new law, the value of a woman's testimony in court is worth less than the value of a man's testimony and women's power in decision making on their fertility is limited.

Furthermore, the non-justiciable status of socio-economic rights in the Nigeria constitution is another challenge to women's rights advocacy. While political right has gained acceptable recognition, ECOSOC is a non-justifiable rights in the constitution of Nigeria as they are

regarded as secondary rights subject to the whims of government (Ngwakwe, 2002). The enforceability and justiciability of women's rights in Nigeria is problematic because appropriate laws are not codified (Dada, 2014). Dada argue that under the Sharia law, the justiciability of women's rights has been questioned especially in the procedure of application of death penalty under the Sharia Penal system that allows Sharia courts, often to consist of one judge and having no guarantees for adequate legal representation, to impose death penalty. She opines that the "primary concern is the fact that most of the judges in the sharia court are not lawyers or persons knowledgeable in law.

Also, globalization poses another challenge to advocacy on women's rights in Nigeria. Globalization with its integration of world system into a global village is believed to present a double-edged sword for women's rights in Nigeria. On the positive side, it has helped activists on women's rights to connect with their counterparts in other parts of the world and provided them a greater platform to air their voice and grievances abroad. On the negative side, globalization has also expanded the scope of trafficking in women and girls for prostitution, forced labour and other inhuman purpose. Women's rights advocacy is further exacerbated by the increasing rate of illiteracy among women which is heightened by decreasing government spending on education, burden of debt servicing, and economic crisis.

Tinuke (2012) opines that cuts in budgetary allocation to education has led to decrease in enrolment rates while dropout rate for girls have increased due to new fees and "user charges," and other economic factors. In eight Northern states, over 80% of women are illiterate compared with 54% for men; 70.8% of young women aged 20-29 in the North-West are unable to read and write and only 3% of females complete secondary school in the northern area (Abara, 2012). The implication of lack of education is that it limits women's access to information about their rights, lowers their chances of being employed in the formal sectors and other sphere of society where their voices is needed, and it makes them vulnerable to poverty. The role of education in the actualization of women's rights cannot be overestimated because it helps women claim their rights and realize their potentials in economic, political and social arenas. It is also the single most powerful way to lift people out of poverty (Aja-Okorie, 2013).

Poverty also constitutes an albatross to advocacy on women's rights. Women constitute the majority of the poor and the illiterate in both urban and rural areas in Nigeria. It has a woman

face since 70% of people in poverty are women (Adepoju, 2004). It limits women's choice and affects their decision making in a lot of ways. Tinuke (2012) contends that women face problems of access to other inputs, including credit, technology, extension services, training and marketing. She also asserts that banks demand collateral in form of landed property which most women do not possess. Studies have shown that reducing poverty among women improves their access to education, affects women's rights and improves on the wellbeing of their children (Aja-Okorie 2013). A study by Taylor, Fraser, Jacobson, and Phillipson (2014) on economic opportunities and obstacles for women and girls in Northern Nigeria shows that illiteracy and lack of education, conflict, corruption and theft, lack of access to land and other assets, lack of access to financial services particularly credit, and cultural barriers are the major challenges to women's economic rights.

Women's rights are further challenged by the public/private dichotomy in state responsibility towards victim of abuse, and the institutional deficiency of various arms of government handling women issues. For instance, a study by NPF/UNWOMEN/UNFPA (2010) on a gender policy for the Nigeria Police Force finds that the Nigeria Police are unable to handle gender-based violence for the following reasons. Most women's rightcases of abuse such as gender-based violence are viewed as a normative order. The Nigeria Police Force, acting on what is termed cultural normative order, 'does not generally treat violence against women/ gender-based violence (VAW/GBV) as a threat to human dignity and rights, and as a gross violation of women 's rights. Also, the Police force is unable to deal with several abuses of women's rights especially violence against women for the following reasons: lack of investigative and detention capacity in handling specific women's rights issues; specifically lack of modern technology to aid inquiry and uncovering of gender-based violence, rape (e.g. DNA/forensic technologies), incompetence and lack of skill to handle issues of women's rights abuse; gender-based violence by police officers. A combined report of NPF/UNWOMEN/UNFPA further revealed the following challenges to women's right advocacy and protection

- (a) deficiency of appropriate specialized structures and personnel (e.g. special police unit trained to handle GBV/VAW) to specifically handle cases related to women's rights violation

- (b) dearth of gender desk units in most law enforcement institution; police stations across the country to handle gender issues,
- (c) lack of integration of women related issues into training curricula of Police Staff College and Academy curricula.
- (d) Failure to integrate policing services with other services; legal, medical and psychological support services amongst others constitute an albatross to women's rights advocacy (NPF/UNWOMEN/UNFPA, 2010:37-38).

Besides, the public/private divide means that women's lives in the public have to be lived out as a reflection of their designated roles in private, i.e. as nurturers, or second-class citizens (Fayemi, 2000). Furthermore, the greatest obstacle to advocacy on women's rights is the legal system. It has been argued by several studies used in this work have concluded that the Nigeria law is replete with several discriminatory sections that require reform.

Another problem is what Owoyemi and Olusanya (2014) observe that the application of Nigeria's three legal systems, namely, Islamic Sharia, customary law and common law, in the six geopolitical zones as well as the contradiction and inconsistency inherent in them exacerbates the negativity attached to the status and dignity of women in Nigeria. There are three variants of criminal codes in Nigeria; the Sharia Penal Code operational in about 12 states in the northern part of Nigeria, the Criminal Code operational in the southern part and the Penal Code which is operational in the non-Muslim majority states in the North (Alemika and Agugua, 2005). The marginalization of Nigerian women is much more pronounced in the native laws and customs which constitute a major aspect of the sources of Nigerian law (Dada, 2014). The combination of federation and a tripartite system of civil, customary and religious law makes it very difficult to harmonize legislations and remove discriminatory measures against women. Specifically, adherence to Islamic and customary law reinforces practices that are unfavourable to women, including those relating to freedom of movement, marriage, and inheritance.

Salmon and Modupe (2012) assert that these tripartite systems of law pose three challenges to Muslim women. First, a Muslim woman is faced with these tripartite systems laws is confused as to which one strictly applies to her and which is not compulsory. Secondly, principles of Islamic law cease to be the ground norm for Muslim women, but a law subjected to litmus test of 'any party who wishes to be bound by it.' And thirdly, the common law (via the Constitution now)

becomes supreme law of the land to the extent that any law which is inconsistent with it is null and void to the extent of its inconsistencies. The implication is that the tripartite legal system arrangement wrenches away, in one way or the other, the Islamic rights of women as provided under Islamic law in contemporary Nigeria.

Also, the Nigerian constitution is silent on several issues that affect women's socio-economic and cultural rights and where these rights can be inferred, they are largely impotent. For instance, the 1999 Constitution does not have express provisions on the right to health. The right to health can only be inferred in section 17 which states that "the State social order is founded on the ideals of freedom, equality and justice". In furtherance of the social order, Section 17 (3) (d) provides "the State shall direct its policy towards ensuring that there are adequate medical and health facilities for all persons". It is important to note that this provision which does not adequately address the issue of health and Section 17(3) which is found in Chapter II of the constitution under the Fundamental Objectives and Directive Principles of State Policy are non justiciable. They only serve as a road map to the government on its responsibilities to the people.

2.2 Theoretical Framework

This study adopts the feminist approach as the theoretical framework for this study. Feminism in international relations studies emerged largely from the late 1980s and the consequent re-evaluation of traditional international relations theories such as realism and idealism. One of the most notable feminists to begin a deconstruction of international relations concept in the 1980s was Cynthia Enloe through her works notably "the early Bananas, beaches and bases: making feminist sense of international politics"(1989) (Young, 2004). Subsequently in the late 1980s and early 1990s, several conferences and published books created momentum for a feminist study of IR. Among the early books, are Jean Bethke Elshtain's *Women and War* (1987); J. Ann Tickner's *Gender in International Relations: Feminist perspectives on achieving global security* (1992), V. Spike Peterson and Anne Runyan's *Global Gender Issues* (1993), and Christine Sylvester's *Feminist Theory and International Relations in a Postmodern Era* (1994) (Wibben, 2004:98). While they are all different in their approach, they are united by seeking to rethink IR's basic parameters to include women's experience and perspective (Wibben, 2004).

The concept 'feminism' is derived from the Latin word, femina meaning women, originally meaning 'having the qualities of females'. It began to be used with reference to the movement

for women's rights and sexual equality alongside womanism in the 1890s. Feminism theory is concerned with promoting and protecting the position of women through such means as achievement of political, legal, or economic rights equal to those granted men (Offen, 1988). The central question for feminists' interrogation has always been: how does the oppression of women work? Where does it come from and how is it maintained? (Atkinson, 2014). Feminism emerged out of the diverse campaigns and advocacy for female emancipation fought throughout the nineteenth century—campaigns for the right to vote, for the right of married women to own property, access to education and professions, and have custody of their children, and for the abolition of laws about female prostitution which was discriminatory.

There are several strands of feminism depending on discipline and discourse. There is liberal, Marxist, radical, womanist and African feminism. Although the existence of gender inequalities and concern for women experience in private and public life reverberate in feminist literature, there are discrepancies among feminists on causes of gender difference, inequality, the form and strategies for ending inequality. Marchand (1998) notes that the difference in assumption is not only among feminist IR scholars, but a typical IR community always consists of a variety of subcultures with their own ontological and epistemological premises. Peterson (2004) corroborates this further by noting that there is not only familiar distinction among feminists but analytical commitment also differs among the term used and their implication for what feminists advocate. For instance, the radical feminists' advocacy centered around tackling oppression which they believe is a result of the biological differences between men and women. On the other hand, liberal feminists advocacy is concerned with the use of legislation and an incremental strategy to bring about change in the political status of women (Samkange, 2015).

Thus, the term "feminism" can be endlessly qualified to mean "familial feminists," "social" and "hard-core" feminisms, "integral feminists," "Christian feminists," "socialist feminists," "radical feminists, and "male feminists," "old" and "new" feminisms, "first-wave" and "second-wave" feminisms, "classical" "modern" feminisms, "maximalist", and "minimalist". Other are feminisms, "humanistic" "gynocentric" feminisms "egalitarian," "evangelical," "liberal," "Marxist," feminisms, psychoanalytic feminism, care-focused feminism, multicultural/global/colonial feminist, ecofeminist (environmental feminism), and postmodern/third wave feminism (Offen, 1988; Tong, 2013). Tong (2013) opines that feminist

theories resist categorization into tidy schools of thought for several reasons. First, feminism as a theory is interdisciplinary, intersectional, and interlocking because all feminists do not think alike. Secondly, varieties of feminists use different approaches, perspectives, and frameworks to shape both their explanations for women's oppression and their proposed solutions for its elimination.

It is important to note however that despite this challenge of categorization, the numerous types of feminisms can be categorized according to the decade they have evolved or their major assumption. For instance, the liberal feminism has been categorized as first wave feminism because it was the earliest form of activism for women's rights and it began about 1800s and lasted until the 1930s. It was largely concerned with gaining equal rights for women and men. Second wave feminism began in the late 1960s and continued to fight for equality for women in economic and social sphere. It also developed a range of theories and perspective that stress the difference between women and men and draw attention to the specific needs of women. These two phases engendered the recent developments of feminism that could be considered as the third wave feminism that is primarily concerned with the experience of women in the global South and how to deal with women questions in these Third World countries.

Liberal feminism has its origin in the writings of early scholar on women's right namely; Mary Wollstonecraft's (1759-1797) *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1792), in which she demanded equality and better education for women, and made the first sustained critique of the social system which relegated women to an inferior position. There were John Stuart Mill (1806-1873), and Harriet Taylor Mill (1807-1858) who co-authored "Early Essays on Marriage and Divorce" (1832), "Enfranchisement of Women" (1851), and "The Subjection of Women" (1869) in which they both made argument in favour of women's equality. Liberal feminist theory centered on individualistic form of right; women having their equality through being responsible for their actions and choices. They emphasize equal rationality of the sexes and the importance of structuring familial, social, and sexual roles in ways that promote women's autonomous self-fulfillment.

Liberal feminism attributes most of the personality and character differences between the sexes to the social construction of gender and tends to promote a single set of androgynous virtues for

both women and men (Tong, 2013). Simply stated, they emphasize the similarities between men and women rather than the average differences between them. Liberal feminists like Stuart Mill advance for change in those systems, structures, and attitudes that contribute to the oppression of women. Applied to IR, liberal feminism is concerned with equality within social and political institution and it emphasizes reform of institution and changing of legislation to accommodate women and give them a level-playing field (Woodward,2007). Liberal feminists argue that the theory and practice of IR is dominated by men who engage in studying global issues characterized by masculine activities and through androcentric lenses.

Liberal feminism focus on women's political and civil rights and the theory says that most of the key players in IR, such as diplomats, policymakers, heads of government, and academic professionals, have been, and still are, males who come from patriarchal social and political backgrounds (Ruiz, 2010). Whitworth (2008) argues that women remain highly under-represented in public sphere and where women are present; they are still largely relegated to clerical and support work, and do not figure prominently in the middle and upper management levels of institutions. To buttress their argument, liberal feminists point to male to female ratio in major world meetings of G8, World Economic Forum (WEF) and the United Nations among others as examples of marginalization, domination and underrepresentation. Liberal feminists in IR further assert that inequality between men and women is also evident in foreign policy.

Liberal feminism argues for equality of all gender and inclusion of women in all decision making centres. They draw attention to gender difference and inequalities by deconstructing categories and concepts and by empirical research which emphasizes the need to listen to women's voices and account of their experiences (Woodward, 2007). It is concerned with progressive and emancipatory goals particularly the goal of achieving equality for women through the elimination of unequal gender relations (Tickner, 1997). Liberal feminists argue that women share the same capacity for reason as men, hence, equality grounds should not be excluded from any of the important elements of the public sphere within modern societies: higher learning, government, and international institutions (Whitworth, 2008).

However, liberal feminism is fraught with its own disadvantages. Firstly, it fails to address women's need for sexual and reproductive autonomy, it pays little attention to economically disadvantaged women as well as public and private systems of inequality and it is a reflection of middle and upper class bias (Howard-Hassmann, 2011). Secondly, it has been criticized by many feminists to be a political approach that is totally inadequate to the needs and aims of women, and in some ways profoundly subversive of those aims. Jaggar (1983) adds that "the liberal conception of human nature and of political philosophy cannot constitute the philosophical foundation for an adequate theory of women's liberation". Thirdly, it has been criticized because it accounts for the mechanics of women's oppression but not the dynamics (Atkinson, 2014). The limitations of liberal feminism led to another strands of feminism namely radical and Marxist Feminism.

Marxist feminism, which is the political economy approach, focuses on the inequalities that exist between men and women. This strand of feminism uses the Marxist analogy of class to explain the predicament of women under a capitalist system under-guarded by patriarchy. This strand of feminism sees women as constituting the oppressed class that is referred to as proletariat under the capitalist, while men who in patriarchal society control the means of production are known as the bourgeois. Marxist feminism explores the intertwined relationship between class and oppression of women, and emphasizes how the institution of women's domestic labour is structured and how it contributes to the subjugation of women. This perspective contends, among others, that women's unpaid maintenance work in the home and reproductive work (bearing and rearing children) is largely influential in determining their lower status (Akpan, 2009).

Radical feminism is a departure from other strands of feminism which focus on discrimination. This strand focuses on the oppression and subjugation of women in all spheres of the society beginning with the family. It sees women oppression as rooted either in women's biological capacity for motherhood or in the innate biologically determined aggression of the male as manifested in rape (Abbot and Wallace, 1997; cited in Muhibbu-Din, 2011). Bryson (1992 cited in Muhibbu-Din, 2011) corroborates this when she observes that patriarchy relies upon sexual violence and rape, and sexual relation between men and women is but an expression of male power. Radical feminism focuses on how men through the institution of patriarchy control the women's daily lives - housework, serving men's emotional and sexual needs, menstruation, pregnancy, childbirth, menopause (Lorber, 1997). It advances a gender politics of resistance to

the dominant gender order and focuses on men's pervasive oppression and exploitation of women, which can be found wherever women and men are in contact with each other. Simply stated, radical feminism emphasizes how the relation between the sexes gives men dominant power over women.

Although these feminist strands have their advantages and they have been faulted in many ways. For instance, Marxist feminism has been criticized for focusing on women's oppression under capitalism, neglecting how capitalism has also aided the emergence of female entrepreneur, self-made millionaire and billionaire. Also, critics argue that all of these feminist strands represent middle class, white women reaction to patriarchy, marginalization, and oppression. All of the aforementioned strands of feminism exclude the role of race, ethnicity and the uniqueness of African history and people amongst others. This gave birth to variants of feminism that capture the history of women of colour and men. Hence, such variants as womanist and Africana womanist are African-American woman's reaction to the white, middle-class women's dominated feminism that claims to speak for all women without acknowledging that race affects women's experience of patriarchy, oppression, and marginalization. Womanist was coined by Alice Walker in her collection of essays titled *In Search of Our Mothers' Gardens: Womanist Prose* (1983), According to Walker (1983: xi-xii) defines a womanist as:

A black feminist or feminist of color... A woman who loves other women, sexually and /or nonsexually. Appreciates and prefers women's culture, women's emotional flexibility (values tears as a natural counterbalance of laughter), and women's strength. Sometimes loves individual men, sexually and/or non-sexually committed to survival and wholeness of entire people, male and female. Not a separatist, except periodically for health. Traditionally universalist... loves music. Loves dance. Loves the moon. Loves the spirit. Loves struggle. Loves the folk.

Loves herself. Regardless; womanist is to feminist as purple is to lavender

Similarly, according to Julia Hare, quoted by Hudson-Weems (1998:812) and Sotunsa (2009), "Women who are calling themselves black feminists need another word to describe what their concerns are". Thus, Weems suggests and defines Africana womanist (Hudson-Weems 1994:24) as:

..... an ideology created and designed for all women of African descent. It is grounded in African culture, and therefore, it necessarily focuses on the unique experiences, struggles, need and desires of African women. It critically addresses the dynamics of the conflict between mainstream feminist, the black feminist, the African feminist and the Africana womanist.

Hence, womanist and Africana womanist focus on the peculiarities of black female and men of colour, detailing racial issues, classist and sexist issues. It centres on family, community and motherhood. Sotunsa (2009) opines that womanism differs from white, middle-class feminism because it recognizes and fights the triple oppression of Black women, racial, classist and sexist oppression as opposed to the feminism main concern with sexist oppression. Secondly, womanism differs from mainstream feminism because it recognizes and accepts male participation in the struggle for emancipation. Thirdly, it differs from feminism in its methodology of ending female oppression.

Furthermore, while womanists claim to speak for black female experience, it does not cover for the experience of all black women, particularly those in Africa. Unlike Black in diaspora, black females in Africa, with the exception of those in Southern Africa, do not necessarily have to combat race, rather, they must deal with issues of ethnicity, class and quest to decolonizing gender and the women question. The deficiency of feminism and subsequently womanism to capture the experience of women in Africa led to African women's perspective of feminism. Two remarkable writers on African feminism are Patricia Macfeddon and Gwendolyn Mikell, although with varied explanations and assumptions about feminism in Africa. There are African feminism alternatives to feminism and womanist; there is Stiwanist propounded by Omolara Ogundipe, Motherism by Catherine Achonolu In her book *Motherism* (1995), Acholonu asserts centrality of motherhood in the African female experience. Omolara Oqundipe-Leslie (1994:1) proposes Stiwanism which she defines as 'Social Transformation Including Women of Africa' (STIWA) and says she

... wanted to stress the fact that what we want in Africa is social transformation. It is not about warring with men, the reversal of role, or doing to men whatever women think that men have been doing for centuries, but it is trying to build a harmonious society. The transformation of African society is the responsibility of both men and women and it is also in their interest. The new word describes what similarly minded women and myself would like to see in Africa. The word "feminism" itself seems to be a kind of red rag to the bull of African men. Some say the word by its very nature is hegemonic or implicitly so. Others find the focus on women in themselves somehow threatening ... Some who are genuinely concerned with ameliorating women's lives sometimes feel embarrassed to be described as 'feminist' unless they are particularly strong in character.

The concepts of 'Africa' and 'feminism' have generated debate as different scholars of varying theoretical and ideological persuasions and of different races, classes, cultures and experiences have contested the meanings of these concepts and descriptions. The debate has centered on several concerns: from those who think the two words Feminism and Africa are a paradox to those who think there is compatibility between the terms. Also, there is a challenge of distinguishing between those who are Africans by ancestry, birth or ideological or theoretical leaning. For instance, being an African woman who is a feminist might not be the same as calling oneself an 'African Feminist (Fayemi, 2000). Also, Caucasians, including women, who have been born and bred in various parts of Africa, also claim the African identity even though their ancestors may have originated elsewhere. Given these complexities, the notion of what constitutes a single African feminism is often problematic. This section focuses on African feminism in the context of third world countries of Africa as opposed to African-American feminist movement or The Black Women Movement.

African feminism is centered on several issues. Firstly, it is situated in the inter-connectedness of women's oppression, gender, race, poverty, ethnicity and class, as well as in the continent's historical realities of oppression, marginalization and domination brought about by slavery, colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism and globalization. Secondly, it is rooted in an African notion of feminism as against western imported notion of same. In other words, contrary to the notion that feminism emanated from the west, there was some shade of feminism in Africa before Africa's contact with the west. African women have had their own form of revolt against patriarchy and oppression long before western amplification of same in Africa. They reacted to local and imperial oppression in diverse ways and through various strategies such as using the institution of motherhood, power, access to political, religious authority, autonomous institutions, etc.

Next, African feminists challenge the validity of African institutions which are of no value to the society. Specifically, they question the legitimacy of cultural and social institutions which no longer add value to the lives of women, but rather, diminishes them, and are therefore no longer acceptable. Such cultural and social institutional practices favour the notion of son preference, perception of non-biological mothers, private-public debate, nature and culture among others. Fourth, they challenged the notion of narratives and history that exclude women and where it

includes them mainly through their affiliations with powerful men as fathers, husbands and sons, i.e. the legendary Queen Mothers and Queens. Fifth, it is preoccupied with women's need for self-reliance and economic independence. Sixth, another area in which an African feminist theory has developed is in relation to the experiences of African women with the state. Seventh, it is intertwined with a global feminism which has worked hard for gains for women at a global level, borne out of the experience of women at the grassroots level.

It is pertinent to note that while African feminism asserts a stance of difference from one another in terms of assumption, explanation and solution to various women's issues they want to solve, such notions of difference create a scenario of 'them against us'. In the words of Fayemi (2000),

there is danger in such qualifications, (such as liberal, African, black feminism) because they tend to obfuscate the real issues around difference and diversity, and substitute these understandings with false notions of hierarchy and importance. For example, it moves the discourse away from 'my analysis might be different from yours because of my experiences and realities', to 'my feminism is better than your's', or 'yours is not relevant to mine' (Fayemi, 2000).

Also, beside the proclivity towards "US vs. THEM" that the qualification of feminism presents, it also makes it difficult for researchers to create a neat category of where their studies on women's rights fall, whether it is "marginalized Third World women as against imperialist western women," liberal vs. marxist or radical. Again, aligning with any of these variants of feminism denies single essentialist's definition of femininity which assumes universal female identity.

Fayemi further opines that feminism is dynamic and all-encompassing enough to articulate the interconnectedness and specificities of women's experiences, identities and struggles all over the world, and which do not have to be qualified as liberal, Marxist, radical, African, Asian. It is in the light of this that this work focuses on feminism as a theoretical framework that seeks to promote women's political, social, cultural, sexual and reproductive rights regardless of race, colour, ethnicity or other divisions. The main point all strands of feminist theories have stressed is that gender inequality is not only an individual matter, but is deeply ingrained in the structure of societies. It is built into the organization of work and the economy, marriage and families, politics, religions, the arts and other cultural productions, and the very language we speak (Lorber, 1997). Thus, the strategies for solving gender inequality necessitate political, economic

social and individual solutions. Hence, the necessity of intersectionality of feminist theories to accommodate these realities.

However, feminist theories in general have been severally criticized. Criticism against feminism centres on its validity. Critics argue that in spite of feminists' claim of coherent and cogent mode of inquiry distinct from other non-feminist methodology, such a claim is not tenable as feminism lacks coherent and cogent mode of inquiry (Hussain and Asad, 2012). Ruddick (1996) contends that feminism is overly concerned with women and that such scholarship is narrow and its research program is therefore normatively based. Put differently, feminism is driven by the normative agenda and this according to Ruddick has no place in proper scholarship. Critics further argue that feminists are partisan in their studies as "partisanship" and scholarship do not always mix easily (Weber 2005).

Other critics also argue that feminism overemphasizes women issues and ignores other variables that relate to women. For instance, women do not live in a world independent of themselves. Studying women's experiences only mean ignoring the social world that actually produces these experiences. Succinctly, a woman relates with other variables in her environment beside herself (Hussain and Asad, 2012). Critics also argue that feminist focus on experiences of women and as such feminist research lacks objectivity which is the goal of social research and any valid inquiry.

It is pertinent to note that in spite of the criticism, feminist theories have made significant contributions to IR as a social science discourse and to knowledge development in the last three decades. According to Rsmazanl (1992 cited in Hussain and Asad, 201), feminism has brought substantial gain to the development of social research through positive and creative production of knowledge. Peterson (2004) argues that the multidisciplinary nature of feminist research has challenged familiar academic boundaries imposed by disciplinary names. Feminist research has been applied to all social science discourses; this multidisciplinary thinking is reflected in new ways of thinking about women, sex, and gender. Goldstein and Pevehouse (2009) affirm this when they note that feminist scholarship has cut across academic discipline from literature, psychology to history.

Also, through the persistent works of feminist research, feminism in IR is becoming an established subfield, sections in professional organizations, panels at major academic conferences, single-authored and edited books as well as journal articles (many in the new *Feminist Journal of International Politics*) (Wibben, 2004). Feminist research was fundamental to the series of international conference that culminated in the 1995 women conference in Beijing and subsequently several other international legal frameworks that acknowledged women's issues and seek for the protection of same. Also, it has seen to the development of international conceptual and political languages to advance the claim of women's economic, political, social and cultural rights and the evolution for transitional women's movement (Pettman, 2004). Contrary to the criticism of feminism and the incompatibility between international relations and feminist theory, Whitworth (2008) opines that international relations and feminist scholars share a lot in common:

For all their differences, feminist and international relations scholars are also sometimes concerned with very similar types of questions. One of the most important of these is the question of power. Feminists are as curious about power as are international relations theorists; both want to know, for example, about the way power operates and what it takes to sustain any given set of relationships, whether between states, peoples, or institutions (Whitworth, 2008: 397-398).

Feminist theory therefore remains a distinguishing theoretical tool that captures the 'wretched of the earth' in international relations and is therefore a fundamental and appropriate tool for this research. Feminism has open up the space for friendships, networks, bonds, organizations and individual and collective energies of those who describe themselves as feminist to share experiences, mobilize around these feminist principles, hone analytical skills and ask questions and seek answers (Fayemi, 2000).

2.2.1 Application of Theory

Feminism is a theory about political movements, ideologies, social movements that aim among others to explain, establish, and achieve political, economic, personal, cultural and social rights for women. Feminism draws extensively from analyzing the reasons for the current negative realities of women and how to deal with them. While feminist may differ on the causes and the solutions to women's negative realities, however, there is a constant theme running through all strands of feminism (liberal, radical, Marxist, ecofeminism) and it is the idea that women are discriminated against, marginalized, treated unequally, oppressed, dominated and disempowered politically, socially, economically and culturally. It is for this reason that the study adopted

feminism as an umbrella for this study rather than pitching its tent with any specific strand. The reason for this choice is rooted in the argument of Fayemi (2000) that “feminism is dynamic and all-encompassing enough to articulate the interconnectedness and specificities of women’s experiences, identities and struggles all over the world, and it does not have to be qualified with adjectives such as liberal, radical, Marxist since all seek to attain one goal which is to ensure that women’ rights are not only promoted but they are protected.”

2.3 Gaps in Literature

This chapter has examined previous studies on women’s rights issues from the political, civil, economic, social and cultural rights of women. While previous studies aimed to provide the significant insight to the causes and realities of violation of women’s rights, they suffer certain deficiencies for the following reasons. First, these studies fail to explain why these limitations to women’s representation and participation in public sphere remain despite various efforts at addressing them. For instance, Nigeria is signatory to several international legal frameworks such as the International Convention on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), all of which forbid discrimination against women either in politics or other aspect of life. Yet, not many of the studies have examined why the problem is persistent despite several advocacy efforts. The implication of such is that most studies keep regurgitating the problem without exploring ways to bridge the gap between what has been done and what needs more to be done. Similarly, very few of the studies have attempted an appraisal of the advocacy mechanism put in place to tackle the discrimination, marginalization and exclusion of women from politics and other spheres of life. Also, very few of the studies situated women’s participation and representation within the context of human rights as enunciated in international covenants that focus on the concerned rights.

Secondly, some of the studies all point to colonialism as the originator of women powerlessness in politics and economics due to its Victorian conception of women but fail to account for why the post-colonial politics and its drivers have consistently failed to correct the gender gap created by the interruption of colonialism in the already existing gender balance that they claimed existed in pre-colonial societies. For instance, is it that the post –colonial politics favour men and choose to continue the exclusion of women or is the current absence of women in politics a reflection of societal bias towards women in politics?

Also, while these studies blame colonialism as the culprit for current predicament of women especially their absence in public offices, they, however, fail to account for the origin of other issues that are violation of women's rights such as female genital mutilation, widowhood practice, denial of female inheritance as well as son preference. Finally, most of the studies examined, with the exception of Awofeso and Odeyemi (2014), often confuse domination with discrimination, marginalization with exclusion and participation with representation. However, one of these variables can lead to the other and there can be one without the other and in some cases all can be present. For instance, marginalization can lead to exclusion just as there can be participation without representation but the indiscriminate use by authors in the studies can create confusion for new learners in these studies. In the case of representation, one can easily observe that there has been participation but fewer representations of women in politics. It is important to note that even level of participation differs.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.0 Preamble

This chapter discusses the research methods which include research design, the population of the study, sampling frame and sampling technique, sample size, method of data collection, method of data analysis, reliability and validity of instrument, ethical considerations that govern the study and focus on the study area.

3.1 Research Design

This study employed survey research design. A survey research is one in which the sample subject and variables that are studied are observed without making any attempt to control or manipulate them (Ojo, 2003). Cross-sectional survey involves the collection of data at a single point in time from a sample drawn from a specified population. The choice of cross-sectional survey is justified in the sense that independent variable (Advocacy) and dependent variable (Women's rights) are studied without any attempt to control or manipulate them.

3.2 Population of Study

The population of the study is as represented in the table 3.2. Nigeria has six geo-political zones namely, North Central, North East, North West, South East, South -South, and South West. The South West geopolitical zone comprises six states; Ekiti, Lagos, Ogun, Ondo, Osun and Oyo. The entire zone has a population of about 27,581,992 based on the 2006 population census figures, although the population might have increased. It has combined police strength of 67,757 officers. Two states in South West specifically Lagos and Ogun were selected for the study using simple random sampling. Lagos State according to the 2006 National Population Census figure has an estimated population of about 9,013,534 covering the 20 Local Government Areas, while Ogun State has an estimated population of 3,728,089 with 20 Local Government Areas (2006 Population Census).

The population of this study comprised four distinct groups namely, women's rights activists/experts on advocacy, women's rights NGOs, celebrities with focus on rights of women's right and the general population drawn from the two states. These groups were selected for several reasons. First, because the group was either at the centre of activism or they worked

towards the promotion and protection of women's rights. Secondly, each group in the study had specific characteristics that were important to the study and they provided answers to the research questions and helped to achieve the research objectives. Thirdly, the involvement of each group provided validity to the study. The first group was Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) (such as Women Arise, 21st Century Issues) involved in women's rights advocacy in the two states. This group was selected because it was on the frontline of advocacy on women's rights and its activism is recognized globally as it had brought significant awareness to issues of women's rights in Nigeria.

The second group included the women's rights activists. Selection of this group was purposive in that it focused on those at the centre of women's rights activism. As "foot or field soldiers," they were able to provide the information that bridged the gap between theory and practice. In other words, interviewing this group provided insights into the challenges they face in the process of activism and advocacy on women's Rights. The third group consisted celebrities with focus on rights of women and girls. The need for this population was to assess how the activities of these celebrities have aided the promotion and protection of women's rights and the challenges that might be hindering their works. The fourth group that constituted the focus of the study comprised men and women between the age of 18-60, with a minimum qualification of secondary school certificate or its equivalent. This group was chosen for several reasons. First, 18 is the age that one attains suffrage rights and 60 is the minimum age of retirement. Secondly, it was expected that people within this age group would more likely be aware of their rights and would likely recognize when they are being violated. Thirdly, a larger proportion of the youth population in the country falls within this age group and they are more likely to be engaged in the types of advocacy being tested in this research. Also, this group comprised women that might either be in informal or formal employment and this is significant because economic and social-cultural rights of these women were also under consideration.

3.3 Sample Size

The sample size of 384 was drawn for each of the two states giving a total sample size of 768 for questionnaire respondents. The justification for this sample size was based on Krejcie and Morgan's (1970) sample size determinant. According to Krejcie and Morgan (1970), for a population which is equal to or greater than 1,000,000, the required sample size is 384. Thus, a sample size of 768 was drawn from a population of 12, 741, 722 that constituted the study

population. This sample size was drawn from the population of the two states based on 2006 population census. Also, the sample size for three of the four study groups that were engaged for interviews and focus group discussions were purposively selected based on predetermined characteristics. These characteristics included the relevance of the organization or respondents to the study, resourcefulness (ability to provide appropriate, knowledgeable and reliable information) accessibility, availability and activism (both online and offline). However, the following sample size was derived for the study, using the above formula

Table 3.1: Sample size

S/N	Organization	Lagos and Ogun
1.	Non-Governmental Organizations(NGOs) with focus on women's rights	6
2.	Women's rights activist /experts	8
3.	Celebrities with focus on women's rights	1
Total		15

3.4 Sampling Frame

The sampling frame of the study was drawn from the four distinct groups earlier identified.

3. 5 Sampling Technique

The study employed the multi-stage sampling technique and complemented it with probability (particularly cluster sampling) and non-probability sampling (purposive and snowballing sampling) techniques. The study clustered the four distinct groups earlier identified (women's rights activists, women's rights organizations, celebrities, men and women in Lagos and Ogun States). From the clustered groups, three groups were purposively selected and these included NGOs, women's rights activists and celebrities. This was done by the researcher for proper representativeness. Each of the group was able to give all necessary information needed for the study because of the roles they played in advocating women's rights. Purposive sampling technique was used to select respondents that were interviewed and engaged for the focus group discussion sessions. Purposive sampling was used because it is one of the practical and efficient technique when employed properly, and can be just as effective as and even more efficient than, random sampling because it allows the researcher to predetermine the respondents that will best

provide answers to the research questions (Tongco, 2007:155). In doing this, the researcher was able to get valid answers from appropriate, knowledgeable and reliable informants.

3.6 Methods of Data Collection

The study engaged mixed methods of data collection. These included qualitative and quantitative sources of data collection. Quantitative data were sourced using questionnaire while qualitative data were obtained from in-depth interviews and Focused Group Discussion sessions. The interview and focus group discussion were conducted with the aid of tape recorder and camera to capture sessions of the interview where they did not violate any ethical principles or privacy policy of the respondents or interviewees. Secondary data were obtained from library resources such as textbooks, journals, government, official document, newspapers, seminar and workshop papers, and the internet.

3.6.1 In-Depth Interviews

In-depth, unstructured interview sessions were held with key stakeholders involved in women's rights advocacy such as non-governmental organizations, women's rights activists, celebrity, and experts on the subject. These categories of respondents were purposively selected because they possessed vast knowledge and experience in women's rights and could provide responses to the research questions raised in this study. The interview sessions were captured using a video recorder where it did not violate any ethical principles and the recorded sessions were transcribed and analyzed by the researcher.

Table 3.1: Analysis of Interviews

S/N	Participants	Number of participants
1.	Founders of NGOs	6
1.	Women's rights activists/ Experts	8
2.	Celebrity	1
3.	Total	15

The researcher conducted interviews with the following key informants: Dr. Joe Odumakin of Women Arise; Barrister Titi Akosa of 21st Century Issue; Dr. Princess Olufemi-Kayode of Media Concern; Ify Bredan-Ndukwu of Women and Children's Rights Development Centre {WOCHRID}; and Gbenga Sesan of Paradigm Initiative Nigeria. Others were Mr. Toyin Oloniteru, (MD/CEO Spindlar Cyberlaw Center); Mrs. Doyin Ogunbiyi (Former Commissioner

for Women's Affairs, Ogun State) and Adebayo Fayoyin, Regional Communication Adviser, United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) Eastern and Southern Africa Office, Johannesburg.

3.6.2 Focused Group Discussion

The researcher conducted four focused group discussion sessions involving four different categories of respondents purposively selected according to pre-determined characteristics.

Group 1: This comprised five participants comprising of three females and two males who identified themselves (self-describe) as persons involved in ICT promotion and development.

Group 2: There were eight participants comprising five females and three males who shared some concern about women's rights.

Group 3: Five female politicians and women in informal economic sectors.

Group 4: This group is a combination of four females and two males from different professions (Engineer, Accountant, Medical Doctor, Academic, Pastor and Business person) who expressed interest in the research and were willing to contribute to the study

3.7 Instrument of Data Collection

3.7.1 Questionnaire

Data were obtained from general population between the ages of 18 and 60. The questionnaire was a combination of structured and unstructured questions; the structured questions involved using multiple choice answers on a five points Likert scale. The questionnaire was divided into five sections. The first part focused on the respondents' demographic characteristics such as age, sex, and education background; the second part examined the type of advocacy that respondents were familiar with, while section three measured the degree of intensity of respondents' views about the effectiveness or otherwise of advocacy as a tool for promoting women's rights. Part four of the questionnaire focused on eliciting data about the factors responsible for the increasing prevalence of violation of women's rights. The last part of the questionnaire involved the unstructured response model (open ended); it sought to elicit responses on the challenges to advocacy with regard to the promotion and protection of women's rights.

Table 3.2: Analysis of Copies of Questionnaire

	Administered		Returned		Analyzed	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Lagos State	384	100	430	95%	405	90%
Ogun State	384	100	230	62.5%	209	56%
Total	768	100	630			

There appeared to be a discrepancy in the table above in term of number of sample size for Lagos and the copies of the questionnaire returned. This is possibly due to the proximity between Lagos and Ogun states and the fact that most people that work in Lagos live in Ogun and vice versa. Also most respondents filled the questionnaire where they were at time.

3.8 Test of Validity

The content validity was adopted for this study to validate the instruments by subjecting it to four independent assessors including the main research supervisor and three other researchers with vast experience in the intersecting field of gender, women and advocacy research. This was complemented by confirmatory factor analysis approach. This measurement model approach recommended by Anderson and Gerbing (1998), and cited by Efosa, Mahesh and Olusola (2016) is used to assess the construct validity and model fits. The measurement model in this study had indicator items that satisfied construct validity (i.e. convergent validity). To conduct the convergent validity test, the study used the CFA to examine the item reliability, items loadings, composite reliability, construct reliability and error variance. According to Bogozzi and Phillip (1982), cited in Efosa, Mahesh and Olusola (2016), confirmatory factor analysis is highly recommended if the confirmatory research uses pre-validated measured scale. Hence, this study used CFA in the measurement model to assess the scale validity and fit of the measurement model.

3.9 Test of Reliability

The accuracy of instrument used in research is significant for several reasons. First, it aims at ensuring the precision of the instrument used and the validity of its conclusion. Secondly, validity and reliability tests also explain the effects and interactions of variables as they occur in

the study. Fundamentally, the primary purpose is to increase the accuracy and usefulness of findings by eliminating or controlling as many confounding variables as possible, which allows for greater confidence in the findings of a given study (Marczyk, DeMatteo, and Festinger, 2005:158). It is in the light of this significance that the reliability instruments employed a test – re-test reliability. This means the same measuring instrument was used to take two separate measurements on the same population at different times.

3.10 Measurement Model

This section of data analysis measures the validity and reliability of the research instrument through the confirmatory factor analysis approach as shown in table below;

Table 3.3 Tests of Validity and Reliability

		Loading	Indicator Reliability	Error Variance	Composite Reliability	AVE	No. of Indicators
	Construct and Indicators	> 0.7		< 0.5	≥ 0.8	≥ 0.5	
Women's Rights	Cultural rights (FA1)				0.9460736	0.6873968	8
	CR1	0.75022	0.56283	0.43717			
	CR2	0.77984	0.6081504	0.3918496			
	CR3	0.82554	0.6815163	0.3184837			
	CR4	0.83458	0.6965238	0.3034762			
	CR5	0.83487	0.6970079	0.3029921			
	CR6	0.85294	0.7275066	0.2724934			
	CR7	0.84273	0.7101939	0.2898061			
	CR8	0.90302	0.8154451	0.1845549			

		Loading	Indicator Reliability	Error Variance	Composite Reliability	AVE	No. of Indicators
	Construct and Indicators	> 0.7		< 0.5	≥ 0.8	≥ 0.5	
Women's Rights	Social Rights (FA2)				0.9397987	0.6363237	9
	CR1	0.72177					
			0.5209519	0.4790481			
	CR2	0.94331	0.8898338	0.1101662			

	CR3	0.71967	0.5179249	0.4820751			
	CR4	0.71865	0.5164578	0.4835422			
	CR5	0.88603	0.7850492	0.2149508			
	CR6	0.80057	0.6409123	0.3590877			
	CR7	0.76779	0.5895015	0.4104985			
	CR8	0.76623	0.5871084	0.4128916			
	CR9	0.82412	0.6791738	0.3208262			

		Loading	Indicator Reliability	Error Variance	Composite Reliability	AVE	No. of Indicators
	Construct and Indicators	> 0.7		< 0.5	≥ 0.8	≥ 0.5	
Women's Rights	Economic rights (FA3)				0.9215452	0.6283577	7
	ER1	0.71634	0.513143	0.486857			
	ER2	0.91728	0.8414026	0.1585974			
	ER3	0.72867	0.53096	0.46904			
	ER4	0.74993	0.562395	0.437605			
	ER5	0.85702	0.7344833	0.2655167			
	ER6	0.75278	0.5666777	0.4333223			
	ER7	0.80588	0.6494426	0.3505574			

		Loading	Indicator Reliability	Error Variance	Composite Reliability	AVE	No. of Indicators
	Construct and Indicators	> 0.7		< 0.5	≥ 0.8	≥ 0.5	
Women's Rights	Civil and political rights (FA4)				0.9446679	0.6839665	8
	WC1	0.72829	0.5304063	0.4695937			
	WC2	0.96382	0.928949	0.071051			
	WC3	0.70543	0.4976315	0.5023685			

	WC4	0.93683	0.8776504	0.1223496			
	WC5	0.71578	0.512341	0.487659			
	WC6	0.79192	0.6271373	0.3728627			
	WC7	0.81488	0.6640294	0.3359706			
	WC8	0.91301	0.8335873	0.1664127			

All loadings are significant at $p < 0.0001$.³ Fieldwork (2017)

3.10.1 Interpretation of Table 3.4: Measurement Model

The measurement part of the predictors of advocacy was measured by celebrity advocacy, non-governmental advocacy, policy advocacy, e-advocacy and women's rights by cultural rights, social rights, economic rights and civil and political rights. Measurement legend: CR1...8 are eight measures of cultural right, SR1...9 are nine measures of social rights, and ER1...7 are seven measures of economic rights. WC1...8 are eight measures of women civil and political rights, C1...9 are nine measures of celebrity advocacy, NG1...7 are seven measures of non-governmental organization advocacy, PA1...5 are five measures of policy advocacy and E1...6 are six measures of e-advocacy.

Drawing from recurrent themes and indicators of women's rights from extant literatures and international legal frameworks; ICCPR and ECOSCO, the study used the following indicators of the women's rights examined. Indicators of the economic rights are equal pay; rights to inheritance; freedom from discrimination and sexual harassment at work; equal access to loan and lending facilities; gender sensitivity of financial institution to women's need; gender diversity of private and public institution; and ratio of men to women living in poverty. For cultural rights, there are absence of cultural norms that dehumanizes women, gender based violence, female genital mutilation, sexual based violence, absence of stigmatization, son preference, absence of double standard for men and women, and discriminatory belief. Indicators of social rights are: sensitivity of social protection policy and women's rights; gender sensitivity of basic infrastructure; absence of discriminatory housing policy; gender division of labour in basic household tasks; fetching water for household need; gender sensitivity of healthcare policy; access to good maternal health facilities; and women experience with forced eviction. Civil and Political rights are: ratio of men to women in State House of Assembly; ratio of men to men in State Executive Council; gender sensitivity of party politics, dynamics of internal party politics; ratio of men to women in LGA and LCDA; gender sensitivity of electoral process; gender parity

or mix of executive council of political parties; public perception of the role and place of women in politics and international and regional benchmarks on gender parity.

The measurement part of the predictors of advocacy was measured by celebrity advocacy, non-governmental advocacy, policy advocacy and E-advocacy, using various evaluation criteria drawn from recurrent themes and evaluation metrics from extant literature. These themes and metrics are those for celebrity advocacy which include altruism; authenticity; ability to attract attention to women's rights; change the situation around the issues that they advocate for; benefit for NGO/ raise the profile of the NGO that they engaged in; and ability to get commitment and enforcement of policy, laws and international legal framework and public trust for celebrity advocate.

There are also non-profit advocacy involving legitimacy; perception of transparency evidence by the funding and support they received from the public; public perception of their effectiveness or performance; capacity to influence change; public support in term of the number of NGOs they support, sharing the content of NGOs; relationship between NGOs, public and government; and collaborative, confrontation or cooperation. For policy advocacy, the themes include achieving its objectives; public perception of the effectiveness of policy, consistency of policy to international and regional benchmark; enforcement/ implementation mechanism; and gender sensitivity of laws/policies. On E-advocacy, there are familiarity of the public with e-advocacy tool; frequency of use by public; perception of its effectiveness; public perception of NGO maximization of the potentials of tools; percentage of respondent that support NGOs online; and effectiveness in highlighting and reducing the incidence of violence.

Table 3.3.1: Tests of Validity and Reliability

		Loading	Indicator Reliability	Error Variance	Composite Reliability	AVE	No. of Indicators
	Construct and Indicators	> 0.7		< 0.5	≥ 0.8	≥ 0.5	
Advocacy tools	Celebrity Advocacy (FA5)				0.9994755	0.9952991	9
	C1						

		0.99927	0.9985405	0.0014595			
	C2	0.99766	0.9953255	0.0046745			
	C3	0.9969	0.9938096	0.0061904			
	C4	0.99712	0.9942483	0.0057517			
	C5	0.99492	0.9898658	0.0101342			
	C6	0.99952	0.9990402	0.0009598			
	C7	0.99937	0.9987404	0.0012596			
	C8	0.99557	0.9911596	0.0088404			
	C9	0.99848	0.9969623	0.0030377			

		Loading	Indicator Reliability	Error Variance	Composite Reliability	AVE	No. of Indicators
	Construct and Indicators	> 0.7		< 0.5	≥ 0.8	≥ 0.5	
Advocacy tools	Non-govt. Org. Advocacy (FA6)				0.9506339	0.7364806	9
	SR1	0.72177	0.5209519	0.4790481			
	SR2	0.94331	0.8898338	0.1101662			
	SR3	0.71967	0.5179249	0.4820751			
	SR4	0.71865	0.5164578	0.4835422			
	SR5	0.88603	0.7850492	0.2149508			
	SR6	0.80057	0.6409123	0.3590877			
	SR7	0.76779	0.5895015	0.4104985			
	SR8	0.76623	0.5871084	0.4128916			
	SR9	0.82412	0.6791738	0.3208262			

		Loading	Indicator Reliability	Error Variance	Composite Reliability	AVE	No. of Indicators
	Construct and Indicators	> 0.7		< 0.5	≥ 0.8	≥ 0.5	

Advocacy tools	Policy Advocacy (FA7)				0.9464522	0.7805546	5
	PA1	0.94035	0.8842581	0.1157419			
	PA2	0.80984	0.6558408	0.3441592			
	PA3	0.84064	0.7066756	0.2933244			
	PA3	0.98581	0.9718214	0.0281786			

		Loading	Indicator Reliability	Error Variance	Composite Reliability	AVE	No. of Indicators
	Construct and Indicators	> 0.7		< 0.5	≥ 0.8	≥ 0.5	
Advocacy tools	E-Advocacy				0.9668198	0.829247	6
	E1	0.91063	0.829247	0.170753			
	E2	0.91063	0.829247	0.170753			
	E3	0.91063	0.829247	0.170753			
	E4	0.91063	0.829247	0.170753			
	E5	0.91063	0.829247	0.170753			
	E6	0.91063	0.829247	0.170753			

All loadings are significant at $p < 0.0001$.

The study employed the measurement model approach recommended by Anderson and Gerbing (1998) and cited by Efosa, Mahesh and Olusola (2016) to assess the construct validity and model fits. The measurement model in this study had items for its constructs and indicators that satisfied validity (i.e. convergent validity). In carrying out this procedure, the confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) was utilized. To conduct the convergent validity test, the study used the CFA to examine the item reliability, items loadings, composite reliability, construct reliability and error variance. According to Bogozzi and Phillip (1982), cited in Efosa, Mahesh and Olusola (2016),

confirmatory factor analysis is highly recommended if the confirmatory research uses pre-validated measured scale. Hence, this study used CFA in the measurement model to assess the scale validity and fit of the measurement model. The result of the CFA as shown in tables 2 and 3 above indicates that all the constructs and indicators met the minimum requirements. The three conditions used to examine convergent validity is as shown in tables 4.2 and 4.3 above. These conditions are first that the CFA loadings indicate that all scale and measurement items were significant and they exceeded the minimum value criterion of 0.70. Secondly, each construct composite reliability must exceed the 8.0, and thirdly, each construct average variance extracted estimate (AVE) needed to exceed 0.50. Thus, the result from the study shows that most of the conditions for convergent validity as recommended by Fornell and Lacker (1981) and Bagozzi and Yi (1988) were met.

3.11 Methods of Data Analysis

The qualitative and quantitative data obtained were analyzed and computed based on the research questions and hypotheses of the study. The quantitative data were analyzed using simple percentage, frequency distribution and tabular representation where necessary. The hypothesis was tested using the regression analysis. In correlational research, the researcher attempts to determine whether there is a relationship that is, a correlation between two or more variables. However, it is important to point out, a correlation or relationship between two variables does not necessarily mean that one thing caused the other (Marczyk, DeMatteo and Festinger, 2005). The study tested whether or not advocacy affected the promotion and protection of women's rights in selected states in Nigeria. Qualitative data gathered from interviews and focused group discussions were transcribed and subjected to textual analysis, and the narrative technique was employed where necessary. Given the dichotomous dependent nature of violation of women's rights (violated and non-violated) explained by the advocacy framework, the logistic regression model was further employed to ascertain whether there was a significant relationship between advocacy and status of women's rights in Lagos and Ogun States.

The choice of the logistic regression technique over the ordinary regression analysis was predicated upon the fact that the use of linear regression on dichotomous dependent variables would result to predicting values that were greater than 1 and less than zero which were theoretically inadmissible. The use of ordinary regression with binary variables could violate the

homoscedasticity assumption of regression models (i.e. variance of Y-the dependent variable is constant across the values of X-independent variables), since the variance (PQ, where P-representing probability of success or occurrence of an event and Q represents the probability of failure or non-occurrence of an event) of binary variables varies as P approaches 1 or zero, thus the variance approaches zero in these instances.

In regression analysis, the significance testing of the "b" weights rest upon the assumption that errors of prediction ($Y - Y'$) are normally distributed. However, in binary outcomes, Y only takes the values 0 and 1, hence, this assumption is pretty hard to justify, even approximately. Therefore, the tests of the regression weights are suspect if linear regression is used with a binary dependent variable. The ordinal regression procedure is advantageous because it can effectively handle ordinal polytomous response variables with factor or covariates set of predictors compared to ordinary regression model. Standard linear regression analysis involves minimizing the sum-of-squared differences between a response (dependent) variable and a weighted combination of predictor (independent) variables. The estimated coefficients reflect how changes in the predictors affect the response. The response is assumed to be numerical, in the sense that changes in the level of the response are equivalent throughout the range of the response. These relationships do not necessarily hold for ordinal variables, in which the choice and number of response categories can be quite arbitrary. Thus, ordinal regression analysis was utilized to determine the extent to which (celebrity, policy, non-profit and electronic) advocacy had been largely efficient in promoting women's rights in Lagos and Ogun states

3.12 Ethical Consideration

This research was carried out in accordance with the Belmont Report Ethical Principles and Guidelines for the Protection of Human Subjects of Research, issued in 1979 by the National Commission for the Protection of Human Subjects of Biomedical and Behavioural Research in Baltimore United States. The report states that a research process must have ethical principles of respect for persons, beneficence, and justice, which serve as the foundation for the formal protection of research participants (Marczyk, DeMatteo and Festinger, 2005). The researcher consulted and considered regulation, legal guidelines and requirements, specific rules of institutions or organizations involved in the research, as well as the requirements of their institutional review board and federal regulations where applicable. The consent of the

respondents were sought, their privacy duly respected and where any research questions impinged on their privacy, they were free not to respond.

Table 3.4: Summary of Research Objectives and Corresponding Instruments

S/N	Research Objectives	Instruments	Data Analysis	Participant/ Respondents
1	Examine the viability and effectiveness of advocacy tools used in promoting women's rights in Lagos and Ogun States?	Questionnaire	Logistic regression, cross tabulation, chi-square, frequency tables, and Charts Thematic Content Analysis (TRC)	The residents of Ogun and Lagos States
2	Interrogate the challenges associated with advocacy framework in the promotion and protection of women's rights in Lagos and Ogun States?	Questionnaire, Interview and Focus Group Discussion	logistic regression, cross tabulation, chi-square, frequency tables, and Charts Thematic Content Analysis (TRC)	Resident in Lagos and Ogun States Founders of Non-Governmental Organization,(NG Os) Activists, Expert
3	Investigate the underlying factors responsible for increasing incidence of women's rights violation in Lagos and Ogun States?	Questionnaire, Interview and Focus Group Discussion	logistic regression, cross tabulation, chi-square, Charts and Thematic Content Analysis (TRC)	Founders of Non-Governmental Organization,(NG Os) Activists, Expert

Table 3:5: Population Size

S/N	Organization	Population
4.	Non-Governmental Organizations(NGOs)	50
2.	Women's rights activist	20
3.	Celebrities with Focus on Women's rights	20
4.	Population of Lagos and Ogun state	9,013,534(Lagos) 3,728,098 (Ogun State)
	Total	12, 741, 722

Source: Nigeria Network of NGOs, 2006, Population Census, Inter-pol, 2016.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

4.0 Preamble

This chapter is focused on data presentation and analysis of the information gathered in the course of this study. This section includes the following: data gathered from the interviews with key informants such as women's rights activist, directors of non-profit, celebrity, experts in subject under review and the respondents to the questionnaire distributed both in Ogun and Lagos States. The research objectives, questions and hypothesis formulated for this study informed the arrangement of the tables and the discussions that follow. The chapter also presents in-depth analysis of the findings of the study noting the similarities between the study and previous works as well as the differences. Findings of the study are supported by other studies, while also showing new directions and dynamics absent in previous and existing works.

4.1 Demographic representation

This section covers the demographic information of the respondents: age, sex, educational background, working status and residence of the respondents.

Table 4.1: Distribution of Respondents' socio-demographic characteristics

	Classification	Frequency	Percentage
Gender	Male	174	28.3
	Female	440	71.7
	Total	614	100.0
Age	18-28 years	125	20.4
	29-39 years	199	32.4
	40-50 years	239	38.9
	51 years and above	51	8.3
	Total	614	100.0
Education	SSCE	60	9.8
	B.Sc. and its equivalent	459	74.8
	Postgraduate	83	13.5
	Other professional qualification	12	2.0
	Total	614	100.0
Working status	Employed	416	67.8
	not employed	77	12.5
	Housewife	1	0.2
	self-employed	102	16.6
	Employer	18	2.9
	Total	614	100.0
	Total	614	100.0
Residence	Lagos State	405	66.0
	Ogun State	209	34.0
	Total	614	100.0

The result of the frequency distribution of the respondents by age in table 4.1 above shows there were 174 (28.3%) male respondents and 440 (71.7%) female respondents. This indicates that most of the respondents were females. Analysis of the respondents' age shows that 125 (20.4%) were between the ages of 18-28 years, 199 (32.4%) were within the age bracket of 29-39 years, 239 (38.9%) fell within the age group of 40-50 years, while the remaining 51(8.3%) were found within the age limit of 51 years and above. In essence, it could be seen that the respondents consisted mostly of matured persons who were knowledgeable about advocacy of women's rights and fell within the age category of 40-50 years.

The educational distribution of the participants indicates the sampled population consisted of 60 (9.8%) SSCE holders, 459 (74.8%) B.Sc. certificate and its equivalent, 83 (13.5%) had attained

postgraduate education, while 12 (2.0%) had other professional qualifications. Hence, the largest proportions of the sample were degree holders (B.Sc.) and its equivalent. The analysis of the participants by working status shows that those employed (416=67.8%) constituted the largest proportion, the unemployed 77(12.5%), housewife 1(0.2%), self-employed 102 (16.6%) and employers of labour were 18(2.9%) represented. The distribution of respondents by residence indicates that the majority 405(66.0%) were those resident in Lagos while the remaining 209(34.0%) resided in Ogun State.

4.2 Distribution of E-Advocacy Tools and Women's Rights Promotion

Table 4. 2: Familiarity with E-advocacy tools.

	Frequency	Percent
Social media	477	77.7
Email	10	1.6
Blog	4	0.7
web site	5	0.8
Others	115	18.7
Undecided	3	.5

Table 4.2 indicates that majority of the respondents 477(77.7%) were familiar with social media, 10 (1.6%) were familiar with e-mail, 4(0.7%) for blog, 5(0.8%) for website, 115(18.7%) for others while 3(0.5%) were undecided.

Table 4.3: E-advocacy respondents engage with in promoting women's rights

	Frequency	Percent
Social media	441	71.8
Email	10	1.6
Blog	3	.5
web site	5	.8
Not involved	148	24.1
Undecided	7	1.1

In Table 4.3, it could be observed that 441(71.8%) of the total respondents were using social media to promote women's rights, 10(1.6%) used e-mail, 3(0.5%) used blog, 5(0.8%) were using

website, those not involved with the e-advocacy in women's right promotion were 148(24.1%) and seven (1.1%) were undecided.

Table 4.4: E-advocacy tool considered most effective in the promotion of women's rights

		Frequency	Percent
	Social media	448	73.0
	email, blogs and website	7	1.1
	Digital(video add, YouTube,)	6	1.0
	all of the above	33	5.4
	Others	113	18.4
	Undecided	7	1.1

Evidence from Table 4.4 shows that 448 (73.0%) of the entire respondents considered social media as the most effective e-advocacy tool in promoting women's right, 7(1.1%) considered e-mails, blogs and website, 6(1.0%) considered digital (video add, You Tube) as the most effective e-advocacy tool, 33(5.4%) considered all the above mentioned e-advocacy tools as being most effective, those who picked others were 113(18.4%) while 7(1.1%) were undecided.

Table 4.5: The effectiveness of E-advocacy in reducing the incidence of women's rights violation

	Frequency	Percent
Strongly disagree	Nil	Nil
Disagree	1	.2
Undecided	53	8.6
Agree	377	61.4
Strongly Agree	183	29.8

The result of Table 4.5 shows that only one person 1(0.2%) disagreed and none strongly disagreed that the use of electronic advocacy tool like Facebook and Instagram help in the reduction of women's right violation. 53(8.6%) were undecided, majority 377(61.4%) agreed and 183 (29.8%) strongly supported the statement.

Table 4.6: The effectiveness of electronic advocacy in highlighting incidence of women's rights violation

	Frequency	Percent
Strongly disagree	Nil	Nil
Disagree	Nil	Nil
Undecided	64	10.4

Agree	322	52.4
Strongly Agree	228	37.1

Table 4.6 reveals that 64(10.4%) of the respondents were undecided on whether the use of electronic advocacy help in highlighting incidence of women's rights violation, most of the respondents 322(52.4%) supported the statement, while 228(37.1%) strongly agreed. None of the respondents neither strongly disagreed nor disagreed on the statement.

Table 4.7: Effectiveness of hash-tag (#) in the promoting women's rights

	Frequency	Percent
Highly effective	135	22.0
Effective	164	26.7
Undecided	219	35.7
Ineffective	63	10.3
Highly Ineffective	33	5.4
Total	578	94.1

In Table 4.7, the viability and effectiveness of hash-tag (#) as an e-advocacy tool was ascertained with the distribution of responses from the respondents. The result shows that 135(22.0%) attested that it is highly effective, 164 (26.7%) indicated it is effective, 219(35.7%) were undecided, 63(10.3%) showed it is ineffective, while 33(5.4%) showed it is ineffective.

Table 4.8 Non-profit organization should use more of E-advocacy tools

	Frequency	Percent
Strongly disagree	Nil	Nil
Disagree	Nil	Nil
Undecided	153	24.9
Agree	324	52.8
Strongly Agree	137	22.3

Table 4.8 indicates that 153 (24.9%) of the respondents were undecided on whether non-profit organizations should use more of e-advocacy tools or not. However, 324(52.8%) agreed and 137 (22.3%) strongly supported the statement. None of the respondents neither strongly disagreed nor disagreed with the statement.

Table 4.9: Frequency of use of social media platform to advance women's rights issues

	Frequency	Percent
Always	163	26.5
Sometimes	193	31.4
Once in a while	172	28.0
Never use it	69	11.2
Undecided	17	2.8

Table 4.9 shows that 168 (26.5%) of the surveyed respondents always used social media platform to advance women's right issues. One hundred and ninety-three (31.4%) sometimes used it, 172(28.0%) used it once in a while, 69(11.2%) never used it and 17(2.8%) were undecided on social media platform's usage.

Table 4.10: Women's issues discussed on social media

	Frequency	Percent
women's civil and political rights	91	14.8
economic rights	157	25.6
social rights	44	7.2
cultural rights	187	30.5
Others	93	15.1
Undecided	42	6.8

The result of Table 4.10 shows that 91(14.8%) of the respondents often talked about women's civil and political rights, 157 (25.6%) often discussed women's economic rights, 44 (7.2%) dwelt more on social rights, majority 187(30.5%) often talked about cultural rights, 93(15.1%) often talked about other rights and 42(6.8%) were undecided.

4.3 Distribution of Policy Advocacy and Women's Right Protection

Table 4.11: Assessment of the viability of social policy on women's rights in Lagos and Ogun states

	Frequency	Percent
Highly effective	1	.2
Undecided	98	16.0
Ineffective	236	38.4
highly ineffective	279	45.4

The result of table 4.11 shows that one person (0.2%) of the respondents saw the viability of the social policy to be highly effective, 98(16.0%) were undecided, 236(38.4%) observed the viability of the social policy to be ineffective, while 279(45.4%) saw it to be highly ineffective.

Table 4.12: The effectiveness of laws protecting women's rights in Lagos and Ogun states

	Frequency	Percent
Highly effective	81	13.2
Effective	308	50.2
Undecided	109	12.4
Ineffective	107	17.4
Highly ineffective	9	1.5

In table 4.12, it could be observed that 81(13.2%) of the entire respondents perceived the laws protecting women in their state to be highly effective, 308(50.2%) believed it is effective, 109(12.4%) were undecided, 107(17.4%) saw the laws protecting women's right in their state to be ineffective and 9(1.5%) saw it as highly effective.

Table 4.13: Policy/Laws in my state are gender sensitive

	Frequency	Percent
Strongly disagree	Nil	Nil
Disagree	1	0.2
Undecided	83	13.5
Agree	380	61.9
Strongly Agree	150	24.4

The evidence from Table 4.13 shows that 1(0.2%) of the respondents disagreed that policy/laws in their state are gender sensitive, 83(13.5%) were undecided, 380 (61.9%) which constitutes the largest proportion of the respondents agreed and were strongly supported by another 150(24.4%) of the respondents.

Table 4.14: There is need for more law protecting women in Lagos and Ogun States

	Frequency	Percent
Strongly disagree	Nil	Nil
Disagree	Nil	Nil
Undecided	52	8.5
Agree	42	6.8
Strongly Agree	520	84.7

Table 4.14 shows that 52(8.5%) of the total respondents were undecided about the statement that there is need for more law protecting women in their state, 42(6.8%) agreed while most 520(84.7%) of the respondents strongly supported the statement.

Table 4.15: State discriminatory Law and policies against women

	Frequency	Percent
Strongly disagree	Nil	Nil
Disagree	Nil	Nil
Undecided	75	12.2
Agree	390	63.5
Strongly Agree	149	24.3

The analysis of table 4.15 indicates that 75(12.2%) of the surveyed respondents were undecided on the statement that law and policies in their state are discriminatory in some ways against women, majority 390(63.5%) agreed and 149(24.3%) of the respondents strongly supported the statement.

Table4.16: Cultural norm in my state protect women's rights

	Frequency	Percent
Strongly disagree	14	2.3
Disagree	87	14.2
Undecided	160	26.0
Agree	274	44.6
Strongly Agree	79	12.9

The result of the table in 4.16 reveals that 14(2.3%) of the total respondents strongly disagreed that cultural norms in their state protect women's right, 87(14.2%) disagreed, 160 (26.0%) were undecided, 274(44.6%) constituting majority of the total respondents agreed and 79(12.9%) strongly upheld the statement.

Table 4.17: Gender based violence is prevalent in Lagos and Ogun states

	Frequency	Percent
Strongly disagree	8	1.3
Disagree	69	11.2
Undecided	120	19.5
Agree	338	55.0
Strongly Agree	79	12.9

The result from table 4.17 shows that 8(1.3%) of the respondents strongly agreed that gender based violence is prevalent in their state, 69(11.2%) disagreed, 120 (19.5%) were undecided, most of the respondents 338(55.0%) agreed with the statement and were further supported by another 79(12.9%) who strongly upheld the idea.

Table 4.18: Female Genital mutilation is rampant in Lagos and Ogun States

	Frequency	Percent
Strongly disagree	25	4.1
Disagree	149	24.3
Undecided	130	21.2
Agree	232	37.8
Strongly Agree	78	12.7

The frequency distribution of responses in table 4.18 indicates that 25(4.1%) of the respondents strongly disagreed that female genital mutilation is rampant in their state, 149(24.3%) disagreed, 130(21.2%) were undecided about the issue, majority 232(37.8%) agreed and 78(12.7%) strongly agreed with the prevalence of female genital mutilation in their state.

Table 4.19: Existence of laws protecting women from sexual based violence

	Frequency	Percent
Strongly disagree	17	2.8
Disagree	100	16.3
Undecided	130	19.5
Agree	287	46.7
Strongly Agree	90	14.7

Following the result of table 4, 19, it is observed that 17(2.8%) of the surveyed respondents strongly disagreed that there are laws protecting women from sexual based violence, though 100(16.3%) disagreed, 130(19.5%) were undecided. Many of the respondents 287(46.7%) agreed with the statement and were also supported by 90(14.7%) of the respondents.

Table 4.20: The court and the police are not well equipped to handle violation of women's rights in my state

	Frequency	Percent
Strongly disagree	15	2.4
Disagree	55	9.0
Undecided	110	18.0
Agree	320	52.1
Strongly Agree	114	18.6

In table 4.20, 15(2.4%) of the entire respondents strongly disagreed that the court and the police are not well equipped to handle violation of women's right in their states. Fifty-five (9.0%) disagreed, 110(18.0%) were undecided, but most of the respondents 320(52.1%) however agreed with the statement while 114(18.6%) strongly agreed.

Table 4.21: Stigmatization is a major reason women don't report sexual based violence

	Frequency	Percent
Strongly disagree	6	1.0
Disagree	30	4.9
Undecided	107	17.5
Agree	351	57.2
Strongly Agree	120	19.6

The analysis of table 4.21 indicates that few of the respondents 6(1.0%) strongly disagreed on the statement that stigmatization is a major reason why women do not report sexual-based violence. Thirty (4.9%) of the respondents further disagreed, 107(17.5%) were undecided, 351 constituting the largest proportion of the total respondents, agreed and those who strongly agreed were 120(19.6%).

Table 4.22: There are limited law protecting female victim of various forms of abuse

	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Disagree	19	3.1
Disagree	47	7.7
Undecided	120	19.5
Agree	308	50.2
Strongly Agree	120	19.5

The analysis of table 4.22 indicates that 19 (3.1%) of the total respondents strongly disagreed with the statement that there are limited law protecting female victims against various forms of abuse, 47(7.7%) disagreed, 120(19.5%) were undecided, most of the respondents 308(50.2%) agreed, while 120(19.5%) strongly agreed.

Table 4.23: Some family still prefer to have more sons than daughters

	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Disagree	18	2.9
Disagree	52	8.5
Undecided	111	18.1
Agree	306	49.8
Strongly Agree	127	20.7

The evidence from table 4.23 shows that 18(2.9%) of the total respondents were in strong opposition to the statement that some families still prefer to have more sons than daughters, 52(8.5%) disagreed, 111(18.1%) were undecided, majority 306(49.8%) agreed and 127(20.7%) strongly agreed with the statement.

4.4 Distribution of Non-Governmental (NGOs) and Women's Right Promotion

Table 4.24: Respondents' awareness of NGOs that support women's rights in their state

	Frequency	Percent
One NGO	95	15.4
Two NGOs	90	14.7
Three NGOs	331	53.9
Four NGOs and above	98	16.0

The analysis of the frequency distribution in table 4.23 indicates that 95(15.4%) of the respondents are aware of one NGO that supports women's right in their state. 90(14.7%) knew two NGOs, many of the respondents 331(53.9%) knew three NGOs and 98(16.0%) were aware of four NGOs and more.

Table 4.25: I support financially any NGOs that support women's rights

	Frequency	Percent
Disagree	3	0.5
Undecided	71	11.6
Agree	376	61.2
Strongly Agree	164	26.7

Table 4.25 shows that 3(0.5%) of the total respondents disagreed that they render financial support to NGOs that support women's rights. Seventy-one (11.6) were undecided, but majority of the respondents 376(61.2%) agreed and 164(26.7%) strongly agreed.

Table 4.26: Respondents online support of any NGO that promotes women's

	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Disagree	Nil	Nil
Disagree	2	0.3
Undecided	125	20.3
Agree	303	49.3
Strongly Agree	184	30.0

Table 4.26 shows that 2(0.3%) of the respondents disagreed with the statement that they provide online support for NGOs promoting women's right. One hundred and twenty five (20.3%) were undecided as most of the respondents 303(49.3%) agreed and were strongly supported by another 184(30.0%) of the respondents.

Table 4.27: NGOs are doing enough to promote women's rights

	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Disagree	1	0.2
Disagree	Nil	Nil
Undecided	59	9.6
Agree	398	64.8
Strongly Agree	156	25.4

The frequency distribution in table 4.27 indicates that only 1(0.2%) person strongly disagreed that NGOs are doing enough to promote women's right; 59(9.6%) were undecided about it, many of the respondents 398(64.8%) agreed and 156(25.4%) strongly agreed with the statement.

Table 4.28: Many NGOs promoting and protecting women's rights are needed Lagos and Ogun States

	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Disagree	Nil	Nil
Disagree	Nil	Nil
Undecided	74	12.1
Agree	406	66.1
Strongly Agree	134	21.8

According to the result in table 4.28, it could be observed that 74(12.1%) of the total respondents were undecided about the statement that many NGOs promoting and protecting women's rights

are needed in their state. The largest proportion of the respondents agreed to the statement and 134(21.8%) strongly concurred to it.

4.5 Distribution of Celebrity Advocacy and Women's Right Promotion

Table 4.29: The collaboration between celebrities and non-profit organization benefit the celebrity

	Frequency	Percent
Strongly disagree	16	2.6
Disagree	91	14.8
Undecided	106	17.2
Agree	311	50.7
Strongly Agree	90	14.7

Result in Table 4.29 shows that 16(2.6%) of the respondents strongly opposed the idea that collaboration between celebrities and non-profit organization benefits celebrities, 91(14.8%) disagreed, 106(17.2%) were undecided, 311(50.7%) agreed to the statement and 90(14.7%) strongly agreed with it.

Table 4.30: Celebrities get involved in women's right issues to boost their own image

	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Disagree	16	2.6
Disagree	45	7.3
Undecided	100	6.3
Agree	350	57.0
Strongly Agree	103	16.8

The evidence from table 4.30 indicates that 16(2.6%) of the surveyed respondents strongly disagreed that celebrities get involved in women's right issues to boost their own image, 45(7.3%) disagreed, 100(6.3%) were undecided about the issue, while most of the respondents 350(57.0%) agreed and 103(16.8%) strongly supported the idea.

Table 4.31: By using celebrity Non-Profit Organization can project widely their position on women's rights

	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Disagree	4	0.7
Disagree	42	6.8
Undecided	86	14.0
Agree	347	56.5
Strongly Agree	135	22.0

The result from table 4.31 shows that 4(0.7%) of the entire respondents strongly objected to the statement that Non-Profit Organizations can project widely their positions on women's rights by using celebrity. Forty-two (6.8%) disagreed, 86 (14.0%) were undecided, majority of the respondents 347(56.5%) agreed, while 135 (22.0%) strongly agreed.

Table 4.32: Smaller, lesser known Non-Profit Organization will benefit from celebrity partnering with them in promoting women's rights.

	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Disagree	5	.8
Disagree	44	7.2
Undecided	78	12.7
Agree	364	59.3
Strongly Agree	123	20.0

In table 4.32, 5(0.8%) of the total respondents strongly disagreed with the statement that smaller, lesser known Non-Profit Organizations will benefit from celebrity partnering with them in promoting women's rights. Forty-four (7.2%) disagreed, 78(12.7%) were undecided, 364(59.3%) agreed and 123(20.0%) strongly supported the statement.

Table 4.33: Because a celebrity ask for it, I'm likely to be involved with an organization that supports women's rights

	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Disagree	18	2.9
Disagree	92	15.0
Undecided	148	24.1
Agree	275	44.8
Strongly Agree	81	13.2

Table 4.33 indicates that 18(2.9%) of the total respondents strongly disagreed with the statement that they will likely be involved with an organization that supports women's rights as a result of the request from celebrity. Ninety-two (15.0%) disagreed, 148(24.1%) were undecided, most of the respondents 275(44.8%) agreed and were strongly supported by 81(13.2%) respondents.

Table 4.34: Distribution of E-Advocacy Tools and Women's Right Promotion

	Most effective E-Advocacy tool					
Variable	Social media	Emails and blog	Digitals	All media	Others	Total
Familiarity with e-advocacy tool	Freq. (%)	Freq. (%)	Freq. (%)	Freq. (%)	Freq. (%)	Freq. (%)
Social media	436(92.4)	4(0.8)	5(1.1)	23(4.9)	4(0.8)	472(100)
Email	7(70.0)	1(10.0)	0(0)	2(20.0)	0(0)	10(100)
Blog	1(33.3)	0(0)	1(33.3)	1(33.3)	0(0)	3(100)
Website	2(40.0)	0(0)	0(0)	2(40.0)	1(20.0)	5(100)
Others	1(0.9)	1(1.7)	0(0)	4(3.5)	108(93.9)	115(100)
	$X^2 = 598.907 (0.000)$; <i>Correlation coefficient (R) = 0.884 (0.000)</i>					
Mostly engaged e-advocacy tools						
Social media	410(93.8)	4(0.9)	3(0.7)	18(4.1)	2(0.5)	437(100)
Email	7(70.0)	2(20.0)	0(0)	0(0)	1(10.0)	10(100)
Blog	1(50.0)	0(0)	0(0)	1(50.0)	0(0)	2(100)
Website	2(40.0)	0(0)	2(40.0)	1(20.0)	0(0)	5(100)
Not involved	26(17.6)	1(0.7)	1(0.7)	11(7.4)	109(73.6)	148(100)
	$X^2 = 528.834 (0.000)$; <i>Correlation coefficient (R) = 0.798 (0.000)</i>					
Reduction in women's right violation by e-advocacy usage	Social media	Emails and blog	Digitals	All media	Others	Total
Strongly disagree	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil
Disagree	1(100)	0(0)	0(0)	0(0)	0(0)	1(100)
Undecided	22(75.9)	0(0)	1(3.4)	4(13.8)	2(6.9)	29(100)
Agree	312(84.1)	3(0.8)	3(0.8)	21(5.7)	32(8.6)	371(100)
Strongly Agree	95(51.9)	4(2.2)	2(1.1)	8(4.4)	74(40.4)	183(100)
	$X^2 = 94.988$; (0.000) $R = 0.313 (0.000)$					
Use of e-advocacy for highlighting women's right violation						
Strongly agree	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil
Disagree	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil
Undecided	22(66.7)	0(0.0)	2(6.1)	5(15.2)	4(2.1)	33(100)
Agree	250(78.1)	3(0.9)	2(0.6)	17(5.3)	48(15.0)	320(100)
Strongly agree	156(69.3)	4(1.8)	2(0.9)	10(4.4)	53(23.6)	225(100)
	$X^2 = 23.475 (0.000)$; $R = 0.042 (0.098)$					

Table 4.34a shows the relationship between advocacy tools and women's rights promotion. The result from the table indicated a significant direct correlation (correlation coefficient (R) = 0.884; P-value<0.01); chi-square ($X^2 = 598.907$; P-value<0.01) between most effective e-advocacy tool and respondents' familiarity with e-advocacy. The evidence from the result shows that 436(92.4%) of the participants that chose social media as the most effective e-advocacy tool were equally familiar with the use of social media. Detailed analysis of the result reveals that another 7(70.0%), 1(33.3), 2(40.0%) and 1(0.9%) of the participants who believed that social media as the most effective e-advocacy tool were also familiar with e-mail, Blog, Website and other e-advocacy tools respectively. Four (0.8) from the e-mail and blog platform, 5(1.1%) from digital and 23(4.9%) who subscribed to all media indicated familiarity with social media.

Table 4.35: Distribution of E-Advocacy Tools and Women's Right Promotion

	Most effective e-advocacy tool					
Variable	Social media	Emails and blog	Digital s	All media	Others	Total
Viability of e-advocacy	Freq. (%)	Freq. (%)	Freq. (%)	Freq. (%)	Freq. (%)	Freq. (%)
Highly effective	122(91.0)	3(2.2)	0(0)	7(5.2)	2(1.5)	134(100)
Effective	133(82.6)	1(0.6)	2(1.2)	11(6.8)	14(8.7)	161(100)
Undecided	134(74.4)	1(0.6)	2(1.1)	10(5.6)	33(18.3)	180(100)
Ineffective	30(47.6)	1(1.6)	2(3.2)	2(3.2)	28(44.4)	63(100)
Highly ineffective	2(6.1)	1(3.0)	0(0)	1(3.0)	29(87.9)	33(100)
	$X^2 = 180.988 (0.000)$; Correlation coefficient (R) = 0.429 (0.000)					
Use of e-advocacy by NGO's						
Undecided	94(74.6)	1(0.8)	2(1.6)	2(1.6)	27(21.4)	126(100)
Agree	271(84.7)	2(0.6)	4(1.3)	18(5.6)	25(7.8)	320(100)
Strongly agree	63(46.7)	4(3.0)	0(0)	13(9.6)	55(40.7)	135(100)
	$X^2 = 89.216 (0.000)$; $R = 0.215 (0.000)$					
Respondent's use of e-advocacy tools						
Always	136(93.2)	0(0)	1(0.7)	8(5.5)	1(0.7)	146(100)
Sometimes	156(93.4)	1(0.6)	2(1.2)	4(2.4)	4(2.4)	167(100)
Once in a while	110(67.5)	0(0)	2(1.2)	16(5.9)	35(21.5)	163(100)
Never use it	18(26.5)	3(4.4)	1(1.5)	4(5.9)	42(61.8)	68(100)
	$X^2 = 250.352 (0.000)$; Correlation coefficient (R) = 0.543 (0.000)					
Discussed issues on social media						
Women civil and political rights	66(75.0)	5(5.7)	0(0)	3(3.4)	14(15.9)	88(100)
Women economic rights	103(66.0)	1(0.6)	1(0.6)	6(3.8)	45(28.8)	150(100)
Women social rights	32(72.7)	0(0)	1(2.3)	5(11.4)	6(13.6)	44(100)
Women cultural right	145(78.0)	1(0.5)	3(1.6)	12(6.5)	25(13.4)	186(100)
Others	71(78.0)	0(0)	1(1.1)	5(5.5)	14(15.4)	91(100)
	$X^2 = 39.157 (0.006)$; Correlation coefficient (R) = 0.072 (0.086)					

Majority of the participants amounting to 410(93.8%) perceived social media as the most effective e-advocacy tool. Other details of the result show that 7(70.0%), 1(50.0%), 2(40.0%) of the participants who acknowledged social media as the most effective e-advocacy tool were mostly engaged in e-mail, Blog and Website respectively. However, 26(17.6%) of social media users and 109(73.6%) that preferred other media claimed they were not involved in the use of E-advocacy tools. Also 4(0.9%), 3(0.7%), 18(4.1%) and 2(0.5%) respondents who respectively recognized e-mails and blog, digitals, all media and other e-advocacy tools as the most effective e-advocacy tools were mostly engaged in social media. Thus, a significant level of association ($R=0.798$; $P\text{-value}<0.01$; $X^2=528.834$) was established between E-advocacy tools' engagement by participants and its effectiveness.

The result of the relationship between most effective e-advocacy tool and reduction in women's right violation suggests a significant correlation ($R=0.313$; $P\text{-value}<0.01$; $X^2=94.988$; $P\text{-value}<0.01$). It could be observed that only 1 (100%) of the respondents who subscribed to social media as the most effective E-advocacy tool disagreed with the reduction in women's right violation. Further information from the table shows that 22(75.9%) of the respondents that believed that social media as the most effective e-advocacy tool were undecided in the reduction of women's right violation, a larger proportion of the respondents 312(84.1%) agreed while the rest 95(51.9%) strongly agreed on the reduction in women's right violation. Some of the respondents 4(2.2%) who subscribed to e-mails and blog as the most effective e-advocacy tool strongly agreed that there is reduction in women's right violation. 3(0.8%), 21(5.7%) and 32(8.6%) of the respondents on digital platforms, all media and others respectively agreed on reduction in women's right violation.

On use of E-advocacy for women's rights promotion, 22(66.7%) of the respondents were undecided, the largest proportion 250(78.1%) were in support of the effectiveness of e-advocacy in highlighting incidences of violation of women's right and this was strongly supported by another 156(69.3%) of the respondents. The result shows that 4(1.8%), 2(0.9%), 10(4.4%) and 53(23.6%) of the participants on e-mail and blogs, digitals, all media and other advocacy tools strongly agreed with the use of e-advocacy in highlighting violation of women's right respectively. The analysis of the result shows an existence of a weak positive correlation

($R=0.042$; $P\text{-value}<0.10$; $X^2= 23.475$; $P\text{-value}<0.01$) between most effective E-advocacy tool and use of E-advocacy in highlighting incidence of violation of women's right.

The analysis of the relationship between most effective E-advocacy tool used in women's right promotion and the viability of e-advocacy tools is as shown in table 4.4b above. The result of the table shows a significant level of association (correlation coefficient (R) = 0.429; $p\text{-value}<0.01$; chi-square ($X^2 = 180.988$; $P<0.01$) between the viability of e-advocacy tools and the most effective e-advocacy tool. Detailed analysis of the result shows that majority 122(91.0%) of the respondents who subscribed to social media as their most effective e-advocacy tool also saw the viability to be highly effective, and 133(82.6%) believed the viability of e-advocacy is effective. Furthermore, 134(74.4%) of the social media subscribers were undecided on the issues of viability of e-advocacy tool, 30(47.6%) of the social media subscribers perceived the viability of e-advocacy to ineffective, while 2(6.1%) claimed it is highly ineffective. E-mail subscribers 3(2.2%), all media 7(5.2%) and other subscribers 2(1.5%) also confirmed the viability of e-advocacy to be highly effective.

There is a significant relationship ($R=0.215$; $p<0.01$ chi-square ($X^2 = 89.216$; $P<0.01$) between the use of e-advocacy by non-governmental organizations (NGO's) in promoting women's rights and most effective e-advocacy tool. Evidently, 94(74.6%) of the participants who subscribed to social media were undecided about the use of E-advocacy by NGO's in the promotion of women's right though majority of the participants 271(84.7%) on social media platform agreed to the usage of e-advocacy by the NGO's and were strongly supported by the remaining 63(46.7%) on the same platform. A closer observation of the result shows that 4(3.0%) subscribers to the e-mails and blogs strongly attested to the use of E-advocacy by NGO's, 4(1.3%) of the digital subscribers and 18(5.6%) of all media subscribers agreed, while 55(40.7%) users of other E-advocacy tools strongly supported the use of E-advocacy by NGOs.

The participants' frequent usage of E- advocacy tools and the most effective e-advocacy tool reveal a significant correlation ($R=0.543$; $P\text{-value}<0.01$); chi-square ($X^2 = 250.352$; $P\text{-value}<0.01$). The result of the analysis indicates that 136(93.2%) of the respondents who always resorted to e-advocacy tool were on social media, 156(93.4%) of the social media respondents sometimes usedw e-advocacy tools, 110(67.5%) were doing so once in a while to promote

women's right, while 18(26.5%) on the social media, 3(4.4%), 4(5.9%) and 42(61.8%) on e-mails and blogs, digitals, all media and other channels respectively never used them as advocacy tools.

On the basis of issues discussed on social media in relation to advocacy on women's right, 66(75.0%) of the participants who subscribed to social media as the most effective E-advocacy tool discussed issues on women's civil and political rights, 103(66.0%) focused on women's economic rights, 32(72.7%) were on women's social rights, majority 145(78.0%) concentrated on women's cultural rights, while 71 (78.0%) were on other matters. Further analysis of the result suggests that 5(5.7%) of the e-mails and blog users dwelt more on women's civil and political rights, 3(1.6) of the digital users and 12(6.5%) of all media users focused their discussion on cultural rights of women and 45(28.8%) users of other advocacy tools concentrated more economic rights. It could also be observed that a significant positive correlation ($R=0.072$); $P\text{-value}<0.10$; $X^2 = 39.157$; $p\text{-value}<0.01$) existed between social media usage in discussing issues on women's rights and the most effective e-advocacy tool.

Table 4.36: Distribution of Policy Advocacy and Protection of Women's Rights

	Gender sensitivity of State policy/laws				
Variable	Disagree	Undecided	Agree	Strongly agree	Total
Social policy viability	Freq. (%)	Freq. (%)	Freq. (%)	Freq. (%)	Freq. (%)
Highly effective	0(0)	0(0)	0(0)	1(100)	1(100)
Undecided	0(0)	22(36.1)	22(36.1)	17(27.9)	61(100)
Ineffective	0(0)	10(4.2)	141(59.7)	85(36.0)	236(100)
Highly ineffective	0(0)	18(6.5)	215(77.6)	44(15.9)	277(100)
	$X^2 = 98.165 (0.000)$; <i>Correlation coefficient (R) = 0.086 (0.038)</i>				
Women's right protection laws					
Highly effective	0(0)	3(3.7)	62(76.5)	16(19.8)	81(100)
Effective	0(0)	19(6.2)	259(84.4)	29(9.4)	307(100)
Undecided	1(1.4)	24(32.4)	36(48.6)	13(17.6)	74(100)
Ineffective	0(0)	5(4.7)	16(15.0)	86(80.4)	107(100)
Highly ineffective	0(0)	1(12.5)	1(12.5)	6(75.0)	8(100)
	$X^2 = 291.329 (0.000)$; <i>Correlation coefficient (R) = 0.344 (0.000)</i>				
Need for women's right protection					
Strongly disagree	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil
Disagree	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil
Undecided	0(0)	7(36.8)	11(57.9)	1(5.3)	19(100)
Agree	0(0)	5(11.9)	26(61.9)	11(26.2)	42(100)
Strongly agree	1(0.2)	41(8.0)	337(65.6)	135(26.3)	514(100)
	$X^2 = 20.439 (0.002)$; <i>Correlation coefficient (R) = 0.045 (0.001)</i>				
Discriminatory laws/policies	Disagree	Undecided	Agree	Strongly agree	Total
Strongly disagree	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil
Disagree	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil
Undecided	0(0)	18(40.9)	20(45.5)	6(13.6)	44(100)
Agree	1(1.3)	27(7.0)	297(77.3)	59(15.4)	384(100)
Strongly agree	0(0)	8(5.5)	57(39.0)	81(55.5)	146(100)
	$X^2 = 148.741 (0.000)$; <i>Correlation coefficient (R) = 0.390 (0.000)</i>				

The relationship between the protection of status of women's rights and policy advocacy is presented in table 4.5 above. It could be noted that the highest proportion of the participants 215(77.6%) who agreed to the gender sensitivity of state policies/laws also attested to the opinion that the social policy viability was highly ineffective. Detailed description of the results indicates that 22(36.1%) of respondents were undecided on the vitality of the social policy on women's rights protection in their state, while 141 (59.7%) perceived it to be ineffective. It is observed that 17(27.9%) respondents who strongly agreed on the gender sensitivity of their state policy and laws were however indeterminate on the viability of the social policy protection of women's rights. Also 85(36.0%) and 44(15.9%) were of the opinion that the social policy on women's rights protection were ineffective and highly so. Furthermore, 22(36.1%) of the participants were undecided on both the gender sensitivity of state policy/laws and the viability of the social policy on women's rights, another 10(4.2%) and 18(6.5%) though were undecided on the gender sensitivity of state policy/laws were of the perception that the social policy on women's rights were ineffective. A weak but significant and positive correlation ($R=0.086$; $P\text{-value} < 0.05$; $X^2 = 98.165$; $P\text{-value} < 0.01$) was established between State policies/laws and the viability of social policy on women's rights.

Majority of the respondents representing 337(65.6%) who opined that their State policies/laws were gender sensitive were of strong support on the need for women's right protection. 135(26.3%) of the respondents strongly agreed on both the gender sensitivity of state policies/laws and the need for women's right protection while 7(36.8%) were undecided on both issues. Consequently, 5(11.9%) and 41(8.0%) of those who were indeterminate on the gender sensitivity of state policies and laws agreed and showed a strong support on the need for women's right protection in their state. The analysis of the relationship between state policies/laws and women's right protection suggests a weak but positive and significant level of association, ($R=0.045$; $P\text{-value} < 0.01$; $X^2=20.439$; $P\text{-value} < 0.01$). The result of the table 4.5 above shows a significant positive correlation between gender sensitivity of state policies/laws and discrimination against women ($R=0.390$; $P\text{-value} < 0.01$; $X^2=148.741$; $P\text{-value} < 0.01$). It is obvious from the above table that quite a good number 81(55.5%) of the respondents were in strong support of the argument on the existence of gender sensitive and discriminatory state policies/laws, while 18(40.9%) were undecided about both issues. However, it is observed that

the largest proportion 297(77.3%) of the respondents agreed on the co-existence of gender sensitivity and discriminatory state laws and policies against women's rights violation.

Table 4.37: Distribution of Policy Framework and Women's rights Violation

Incidences of women's right violations	Ill equipped legal institutional frame work					
Variable	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Undecided	Agree	Strongly agree	Total
Cultural norm	Freq. (%)	Freq. (%)	Freq. (%)	Freq. (%)	Freq. (%)	Freq. (%)
Strongly disagree	3(23.1)	0(0)	0(0)	4(30.8)	6(46.2)	13(100)
Disagree	1(1.2)	10(11.8)	5(5.9)	57(67.1)	12(14.1)	85(100)
Undecided	1(0.8)	4(3.3)	40(33.1)	53(43.8)	23(19.0)	121(100)
Agree	5(1.9)	25(9.3)	10(3.7)	191(71.0)	38(14.1)	269(100)
Strongly agree	5(6.6)	16(21.1)	8(10.5)	13(17.1)	34(44.7)	76(100)
	$X^2 = 184.743 (0.000)$; Correlation coefficient (R) = 0.0049 (0.241)					
Gender based violence						
Strongly disagree	3(37.5)	0(0.0)	2(25.0)	2(25.0)	1(12.5)	8(100)
Disagree	1(1.5)	12(17.5)	17(25.0)	33(48.5)	5(7.4)	68(100)
Undecided	2(2.6)	13(16.9)	11(14.3)	28(36.4)	23(29.9)	77(100)
Agree	4(1.2)	20(6.0)	20(6.0)	244(73.1)	46(13.8)	334(100)
Strongly agree	5(6.4)	10(12.8)	13(16.7)	11(14.1)	39(50.0)	78(100)
	$X^2 = 181.282 (0.000)$; R = 0.187 (0.000)					
Genital mutilation						
Strongly disagree	6(24.0)	2(8.0)	3(12.0)	10(40.0)	4(16.0)	25(100)
Disagree	4(2.7)	21(14.2)	29(19.6)	81(54.7)	13(8.8)	148(100)
Undecided	0(0)	8(11.0)	12(16.4)	28(38.4)	25(34.2)	73(100)
Agree	1(0.4)	17(7.5)	12(5.3)	177(78.0)	20(8.8)	227(100)
Strongly agree	4(5.3)	7(9.2)	7(9.2)	14(18.4)	44(57.9)	76(100)
	$X^2 = 203.983 (0.000)$; R = 0.252 (0.000)					
Sexual based violence						
Strongly disagree	5(29.4)	0(0)	5(29.4)	2(11.8)	5(29.4)	17(100)
Disagree	0(0)	16(16.2)	4(4.0)	63(63.8)	16(16.2)	99(100)
Undecided	4(6.0)	10(14.9)	14(20.9)	26(38.8)	13(19.4)	67(100)
Agree	5(1.8)	18(6.3)	27(9.5)	20(70.8)	33(11.6)	284(100)
Strongly agree	1(1.1)	11(12.2)	12(13.3)	22(24.4)	44(48.9)	90(100)
	$X^2 = 166.525 (0.000)$; R = 0.154 (0.000)					

In term of the incidences of women's right violation, 191(71.0%) of the respondents that agreed on the existence of ill-equipped legal institutional frameworks also attested to the incidences of women's right violation due to cultural practices. Both issues were strongly supported by some others 34(44.7%) while 40(33.1%) were undecided. Ten (11.8) disagree and 3(23.1%) strongly disagreed on the same question asked. It could be observed an existence of a significant level of association between poorly equipped legal institutional frameworks and incidences of women's right violation (gender based violence, genital mutilation and sexual based violence), but an insignificant relationship could be observed in respect of cultural norm ($R=0.0049$; $P\text{-value}=0.241$).

Gender-based violence was observed to be significantly associated with poorly equipped legal institutional frameworks that assist victim and punish perpetrators. Detailed analysis of the relationship between ill-equipped legal institutions and gender based violence reveals a significant correlation ($R=0.187$; $P\text{-value} < 0.01$; $X^2=181.282$; $P\text{-value} < 0.01$). The result of the analysis shows that 244(73.1%) which constitute the highest percentage of the respondents agreed on the existence of both ill-equipped legal institutional framework and incidences of gender based violence against women. Both arguments were strongly supported by 39(50.0%) of the respondents while 11(14.3%) were undecided on it. However, 12(17.5%) and 3(37.5%) of the respondents disagreed and strongly disagreed respectively on both issues raised. Further investigation of the result shows that 23(29.9%) who strongly agreed on the existence of ill-equipped legal institutional framework were undecided about gender-based violence and 46(13.8%) of these group of audience agreed to the prevalent of gender-based violence in their states.

Most of the participants 177(78.0%) who agreed on ill-equipped legal institutional framework that address the issue of women's right violation also supported that there were incidences of women's right violation through female genital mutilation. Detailed result of the analysis shows that 44(57.9%) of the audience strongly supported both arguments though 12(16.4%) were indeterminate. Conversely, 81(54.7%) of the respondents that agreed on the existence of ill-equipped legal institutional frameworks disagreed on the prevalence of female genital mutilation, while 28(38.4%) who were in support of the existence of poor legal institutional arrangement against women's right violation were indeterminate on the incidence of female genital

mutilation. Also 6(24.0%) completely disagreed while another 2(8.0%) disagreed on both issues. There is a significant positive correlation ($R=0.253$; $P\text{-value}<0.01$; $X^2=203.983$, $P\text{-value}<0.01$) between poorly equipped legal /institutional frameworks (such as the police and courts) and prevalent of women's right violation (female genital mutilation). The result of the relationship between ill-equipped legal institutional arrangements and prevalence of sexual based violence against women suggests a significant correlation ($R=0.154$; $P\text{-value}<0.01$; $X^2=166.525$, $P\text{-value}<0.01$). Evidently, it is observed that greater percentage 63(63.8%) of the participants who agreed with ill-equipped legal institutional framework disagreed with the incidence of sexual based violence. Further observation of the result indicates that 22(24.4%) agreed on both statements, 44(48.9%) strongly supported the arguments, 14(20.9%) were undecided, while 6(24.0%) completely objected on the question asked.

Table 4.38: Distribution of Advocacy Framework and Women's Right Violations Contd.

Incidences of women's right violations	Ill equipped legal institutional advocacy framework					
Stigmatization	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Undecided	Agree	Strongly agree	Total
Strongly disagree	2(33.3)	0(0)	2(33.3)	0(0)	2(33.3)	6(100)
Disagree	1(3.4)	6(20.7)	3(10.3)	15(51.7)	4(13.8)	29(100)
Undecided	1(1.7)	13(21.7)	9(15.0)	24(40.0)	13(21.7)	60(100)
Agree	3(0.9)	25(7.2)	30(8.6)	250(71.8)	40(11.5)	348(100)
Strongly agree	8(6.8)	10(8.5)	18(15.3)	28(23.7)	54(45.8)	118(100)
	$X^2 = 152.781 (0.000)$; $R = 0.162 (0.000)$					
Limited Women protection laws						
Strongly disagree	4(21.1)	0(0)	11(57.9)	0(0)	4(21.1)	19(100)
Disagree	0(0)	8(17.0)	15(31.9)	19(40.4)	5(10.6)	47(100)
Undecided	2(2.9)	3(4.3)	13(18.6)	40(57.1)	12(17.1)	70(100)
Agree	4(1.3)	26(8.5)	11(3.6)	234(76.7)	30(9.8)	305(100)
Strongly agree	5(4.2)	18(15.1)	10(8.4)	25(21.0)	61(51.3)	119(100)
	$X^2 = 254.465 (0.000)$; $R = 0.242 (0.000)$					
Preferences for Male child						
Strongly disagree	6(33.3)	5(27.8)	1(5.6)	2(11.1)	4(22.2)	18(100)
Disagree	1(1.9)	1(1.9)	9(17.3)	23(44.2)	1(1.9)	52(100)
Undecided	0(0)	0(0)	9(16.1)	20(35.7)	14(25.0)	56(100)
Agree	4(1.3)	4(1.3)	29(9.5)	221(72.5)	36(11.8)	305(100)
Strongly agree	3(2.4)	3(2.4)	15(11.8)	49(38.6)	57(44.9)	127(100)
	$X^2 = 231.699 (0.000)$; $R = 0.388 (0.000)$					

Further analysis of the relationship between ill-equipped legal institutional frameworks and women's right violation showed a significant correlation between stigmatization and ill-equipped legal institutional frameworks ($R=0.162$, $P\text{-value}<0.01$; $X^2=152.781$; $P\text{-value}<0.01$). A critical observation of the results shows that greater proportion 250(71.8%) of the respondents held the view that ill-equipped legal institutional arrangements and stigmatization are major reasons women do not report sexual-based violence. This was strongly supported by another 54(45.8%) of the respondents who held similar views compared to those respondents representing (33.3%) who opposed the view while 9(15.0%) were undecided about the position. Analysis of the results further suggests that 10(8.5%) respondents who disagreed and 6(6.8%) that strongly disagreed with the position that ill-equipment legal institutional arrangements are responsible for violation of women's rights were in strong support of the prevalence of stigmatization in reporting sexual violence by female victims.

The existence of limited laws protecting female victims from various abuse was positively correlated with ill-equipped legal institutional frameworks ($R=0.242$, $P\text{-value}<0.01$; $X^2=254.465$, $P\text{-value}<0.01$). Detailed analysis of the results indicates that quite a large number 234(76.7%) of the respondents were in consonance with these arguments, 61(51.3%) strongly agreed to this statement, 13(18.6%) claimed to be indeterminate, while 4(21.1%) strongly opposed the idea. Further diagnosis of the results suggests that some 40(57.1%) of the participants who upheld the perception of poorly equipped legal institutional arrangement for the prosecution of women's rights violation were however undecided in term of limited protection laws for victims of women's right violation in their state.

The preference for sons by families was positively correlated with ill-equipped legal/institutional frameworks as responsible for women's rights violation ($R=0.388$, $P\text{-value}<0.01$; $X^2=231.699$; $P\text{-value}<0.01$). The result of the respondents' analysis reveals that a majority of 221(72.5%) of the respondents supported both position that many families still preferred male son, 57(44.9%) strongly concurred to the views, 9(16.1%) were undecided while 6(33.3%) claimed to be strongly opposed to the views. Further investigation of the result provides evidence that 29(9.5%) and 15(11.8%) of the respondents that were indeterminate on the existence of poorly equipped legal institutional arrangements in the handling of women's right violation agreed and

strongly agreed respectively with the argument on the incidences of male child preference in some families within their state.

Table 4. 39: Distribution of Non-Profit Advocacy and Women's Right Promotion

	NGOs are doing enough to promote women's right				
Variable	Strongly Disagree	Undecided	Agree	Strongly agree	Total
N0. of NGO's by respondents	Freq. (%)	Freq. (%)	Freq. (%)	Freq. (%)	Freq. (%)
One NGO	1(1.1)	10(11.0)	63(69.2)	17(18.7)	91(100)
Two NGO's	0(0)	2(2.4)	71(83.5)	12(14.1)	85(100)
Three NGO's	0(0)	7(2.2)	216(68.1)	94(29.7)	317(100)
Four NGO's and above	0(0)	9(10.0)	48(53.3)	33(36.7)	90(100)
	$X^2 = 40.668$ (0.000); <i>Correlation coefficient (R) = 0.155</i> (0.000)				
NGO's financial support by respondents					
Disagree	1(33.3)	0(0)	2(66.7)	0(0)	3(100)
Undecided	0(0)	7(19.4)	22(61.1)	7(19.4)	36(100)
Agree	0(0)	14(3.8)	305(82.4)	51(13.8)	370(100)
Strongly agree	0(0)	6(3.7)	61(37.7)	95(58.6)	162(100)
	$X^2 = 326.615$ (0.000); <i>Correlation coefficient (R) = 0.405</i> (0.000)				
NGO's Online support by respondents					
Disagree	1(50.0)	0(0)	1(50.0)	0(0)	2(100)
Undecided	0(0)	4(5.5)	48(65.8)	21(28.8)	73(100)
Agree	0(0)	15(5.0)	233(77.4)	53(17.6)	301(100)
Strongly agree	0(0)	8(4.4)	102(56.0)	72(39.6)	182(100)
	$X^2 = 307.609$ (0.000); <i>Correlation coefficient (R) = 0.159</i> (0.000)				
NGO's establishment and women's right promotion	Disagree	Undecided	Agree	Strongly agree	Total
Undecided	0(0)	3(10.3)	14(48.3)	11(37.9)	29(100)
Agree	1(3.4)	12(3.0)	332(83.2)	55(13.8)	399(100)
Strongly agree	0(0)	11(8.2)	38(28.4)	85(63.4)	134(100)
	$X^2 = 165.795$ (0.000); <i>Correlation coefficient (R) = 0.306</i> (0.000)				

The result of the analysis in table 4.7 above shows that 63(69.2%) of the respondents who were aware of an NGO that supports women's right in their state agreed that they are doing enough to promote women's right. Majority 216(68.1%) of these respondents who were conversant with up to three NGOs that support women's right also agreed to the statement that they are doing enough to promote women's right and were strongly supported by another 94(29.7%) while 7(2.2%) were indeterminate about it. Further analysis shows that 10(11.0) of the participants

were undecided on whether the NGOs are doing enough to promote women's right and the number of NGOs they know that are involved in women's right promotion. However, 48(53.3%) of the respondents were familiar with at least four NGOs that support women's right promotion in their states. There appears to be a significant correlation (Pearson's $X^2 = 40.688$; P-value <0.01 ; $R = 0.155$, P-value <0.01) between the number of NGOs involved in women's right promotion and NGOs effectiveness in the promotion of women's right.

It could be observed that most 305(82.4%) of the respondents and 61(37.7%) that respectively supported and strongly supported NGOs financially believed that the NGOs are doing enough in the promotion of women's rights. Detailed analysis of the result shows that 22(61.1%) and 2(66.7%) who concurred to the effectiveness of the NGOs in promoting women's right were indeterminate and unsupportive in terms of their financial support to these organizations. A closer observation of the results suggests that 95(58.6%) who provided strong financial support to the NGO's, strongly believed in their effectiveness in women's right promotion in their states. Conversely, 14(3.8%) and 6(3.7%) of the participants who were indeterminate about NGOs effectiveness in women's right promotion, respectively agreed and strongly agreed on provision of financial support to the organizations. It could be noted that evidence from the result indicates a significant direct relationship (Pearson's $X^2 = 326.615$, P-value <0.01 ; $R = 0.405$, P-value <0.01) between NGO's financial support and their effectiveness in women's right promotion.

The largest percentage 233(83.2) of the participants that provided online support (such as follow, like or share content) to the NGOs and another 102(56.0%) with strong online support agreed and strongly agreed that NGOs are doing enough to promote women's right in their states. Furthermore, 53(17.6) and 72(39.6%) of the participants who strongly believed on the effectiveness of the NGOs in promoting women's rights agreed and strongly agreed on the provision of online support to the organization. It is evident that though 15(5.0%) and 8(4.4%) of the participants seemed to be indeterminate on the NGOs' effectiveness in promoting women's rights, however, they provided support and strongly supported NGOs online. More evidences from the result indicate a significant level of association existing between NGO's online support and their effectiveness in women's right promotion (Pearson's $X^2 = 307.609$, P-value <0.01 ; $R = 0.159$, P-value <0.01).

There is a significant and moderate positive correlation between the establishment of more NGOs that support women's rights promotion and their effectiveness (Pearson's $X^2=165.795$, P-value<0.01; R= 0.306, P-value<0.01). This implies that increase in the number of NGOs that support the promotion of women's rights will transcend to their better performance in their advocacy programmes. It is observed from the result that 55(13.8%) and 85(63.4%) that believed in the effectiveness of the NGOs in promoting women's right did agree and strongly agreed on the need for more NGOs that are promoting and protecting women's rights in their states to be created. Most 332(83.2%) of the respondents were in support of both arguments while 3(10.3%) were undecided. A closer observation of the results indicates that 12(3.0%) and 11(8.2%) who were indeterminate about the effectiveness of the NGOs in women's right promotion were in support of the position for the establishment of more NGOs that promote women's right in their state.

Table 4. 40: Distribution of Celebrity Advocacy and Women's Right Promotion

	Celebrity support of NGO's in women's right promotion					
Variable	Strongl y agree	Disagree	Undecided	Agree	Strongly agree	Total
Celebrity collaboration with NGO's	Freq. (%)	Freq. (%)	Freq. (%)	Freq. (%)	Freq. (%)	Freq. (%)
Strongly disagree	1(6.7)	0(0.0)	2(13.3)	6(40.0)	6(40.0)	15(100)
Disagree	1(1.1)	6(6.7)	4(4.5)	59(66.3)	19(21.3)	89(100)
Undecided	2(3.5)	3(5.3)	7(12.3)	23(40.4)	22(38.6)	57(100)
Agree	1(0.3)	9(3.0)	11(3.6)	227(74.7)	50(18.4)	304(100)
Strongly agree	0(0)	4(4.4)	8(8.9)	20(22.2)	58(64.4)	90(100)
	$X^2 = 117.353 (0.000)$; <i>Correlation coefficient (R) = 0.141 (0.001)</i>					
Celebrity engagement by NGOs						
Strongly disagree	2(66.7)	0(0)	0(0)	0(0)	1(33.3)	3(100)
Disagree	2(5.0)	9(22.5)	4(9.3)	23(57.5)	3(7.5)	40(100)
Undecided	0(0)	4(8.0)	9(22.5)	17(34.0)	13(26.0)	50(100)
Agree	1(0.3)	7(2.0)	15(4.2)	271(78.8)	58(16.9)	344(100)
Strongly agree	0(0)	7(5.4)	5(4.2)	26(20.0)	94(72.3)	130(100)
	<i>Pearson's $X^2 = 433.64 (0.000)$; $R = 0.450 (0.000)$</i>					
Celebrity partnership with NGO's						
Strongly disagree	1(25.0)	0(0)	0(0)	2(50.0)	1(25.0)	4(100)
Disagree	0(0)	11 (25.6)	4(9.3)	25(58.1)	3(7.5)	43(100)
Undecided	2(5.0)	8(20.0)	9(22.5)	17(42.5)	4(10.0)	40(100)
Agree	1(0.3)	3(0.8)	15(4.2)	272(75.3)	70(19.4)	36(100)
Strongly agree	1(0.8)	1(0.8)	5(4.2)	21(17.6)	91(76.5)	119(100)
	$X^2 = 310.332 (0.000)$; <i>Correlation coefficient (R) = 0.468 (0.000)</i>					
Celebrity image and advocacy						
Strongly disagree	1(6.3)	0(0)	0(0)	4(25.0)	11(68.8)	16(100)
Disagree	0(0)	8(18.2)	7(15.9)	13(29.5)	16(36.4)	44(100)
Undecided	2(2.9)	7(10.3)	7(10.3)	29(42.6)	23(33.8)	68(100)
Agree	2(0.6)	5(1.5)	14(4.1)	271(79.2)	50(14.6)	342(100)
Strongly agree	0(0)	3(3.0)	4(4.0)	24(23.8)	70(69.3)	101(100)
	<i>Pearson's $X^2 = 204.523 (0.000)$; $Correlation coefficient (R) = 0.210 (0.000)$</i>					

The evidence from the result in table 4.8 shows that some of the respondents 59(66.3%) were of the opinion that celebrities should support non-profit organizations more often in the promotion of women's right but failed to agree with the opinion or response that celebrity collaboration with non-profit organizations will benefit the celebrities. Evidently, majority 227(74.7%) agreed to both responses while 58(64.4%) strongly supported the views and 7(12.3) were undecided about the issues. Further evidence from the tables suggests the existence of a positive correlation

between celebrities' collaboration with non-profit organizations and their support and advocacy on women's right promotion.

Majority of the participants (271 representing 79.2%) believed in celebrities' support for women's right promotion. They also agreed that using celebrities for non-profit organizations' activities can project widely their position on women's right. The issue was strongly supported by 94(72.3%) of the respondents, 9(22.5%) were undecided, while 9(22.5%) seemed to disagree on both views. Also 15(4.2%) and 55(4.2%) who were indeterminate on celebrities' support of non-profit organizations in promoting women's rights agreed and strongly agreed on the ability of the non-profit organizations to advance their positions on women's right through celebrity advocacy. Analysis of the result portrays a significant, positive and strong relationship between celebrity usage by non-profit organizations and their support for these organizations' goals in women's right promotion (Pearson's $X^2=433.64$, $P\text{-value}<0.01$; $R=0.450$, $P\text{-value}<0.01$).

Celebrity partnership with smaller, lesser known non-profit organizations in promoting women's right was seen to be significantly and positively correlated (Pearson's $X^2=310.332$, $P\text{-value}<0.01$; $R=0.468$, $P\text{-value}<0.01$). Detailed analysis of the results shows that the largest proportion 272(79.2%) of the respondents who believed in celebrity support of non-profit organizations involved in women's right promotion supported celebrity partnership with smaller organizations since these organizations stand to benefit from the arrangement. This was further supported by another 91(76.5%) of the respondents, while 9(22.5%) were undecided about it and 11(25.6%) were unsupportive of these positions.

There is a significant direct correlation between celebrities' image boost and their support of NGOs involved in women's right promotion (Pearson's $X^2=204.523$, $P\text{-value}<0.01$; $R=0.210$, $P\text{-value}<0.01$). This is further buttressed by majority of the respondents representing 271(79.2%) who supported the idea that celebrities should support non-profit organization more often and that these celebrities involved in women's rights advocacy stand a better chance of boosting their image. It was observed that though 7(10.3%) of the participants were undecided about it, 8(18.2%) objected and 1(6.3%) strongly disagreed with this view. Also 50 (14.6%) of the participants who strongly believed in celebrities' support of NGOs involved in women's rights promotion agreed that celebrities' involvement in women's issues would further enhance their

status. However, 70(69.3%) of the respondents strongly agreed on both views of celebrity advocacy and women's right promotion.

4.6: Hypotheses Testing

Hypothesis One

H₀: Advocacy has been largely inefficient in promoting women's rights in Lagos and Ogun States.

Table 4. 41: Model Summary on Advocacy and women's right promotion

Classification Table				Model Summary			Omnibus Tests of Model Coefficients			
Observed	Predicted									
Women’s rights promotion	Women’s rights promotion		Percentage Correct	-2 Log likelihood	Cox and Snell R Square	Nagelkerke R Square	X²	df	P-value	
	Yes	No								
	Yes	385	0	100.0						
	No	193	0	0.0						
Overall Percentage			66.6	750.099 ^a	.042	.059	26.273	4	.000	

This section examines E-advocacy as the predictor of women's right promotion which involves use of social media (Facebook, Twitter, Instagram), emails, blogs and feedback through (websites), and digitals (video add, YouTube,) using logistic regression approach. The results from the test of hypothesis 1 indicates that the -2log likelihood value from the model summary table is (750.099, NagelkerkeR² = 0.059), indicating that 5.9 percent of the variation in the dependent variable is explained by e-advocacy indicator in the logistic model. Nevertheless, the overall prediction success was 66.6 percent, suggesting a good positive relationship between e-advocacy and women's right promotion (X² =26.273, p < 0.000 with degree of freedom (df) =4). Thus, the implication is that the model has a good fit, suggesting that the predictor (e-advocacy) has been efficient in promoting women's right in Lagos and Ogun states involved in this study. The classification table shows that a total of 578 responses were obtained from a sample size of 614 respondents, with 36 unfilled responses. Three hundred and eighty five respondents representing 66.6% agreed to the question asked while 193 (33.4%) objected.

Table 4.42: Prediction of women's Rights promotion by E-advocacy

E-advocacy	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Most effective e-advocacy tool		22.875	4	.000	
Social media	.261	15.422	1	.000	2.782
E-mails and blogs	.801	4.853	1	.028	5.841
Digitals	1.122	.014	1	.906	.876
All media	.542	.205	1	.651	.782
Constant	.242	37.312	1	.000	.228

The analysis of table 4.39b presents the chance of promoting women's rights through e-advocacy. Evidence from the table shows that social media (Facebook, twitter, Instagram), (Wald =15.422; p-value <0.01) significantly predicted women's right promotion at 1 percent significance level. The Exp. (B) column in the table presents the extent to which raising the corresponding measure by one unit influences the odds ratio. Further analysis of the result reveals that digitals (video add, Youtube) has less significant contribution to the prediction of women's right promotion. However there is evidence that a marginal increase in emails and blogs have the chances of improving the odd ratios (OR=5.841; p-value<0.05) and efficiency of e-advocacy in women's right promotion by approximately 6 times than other advocacy tools. The odd ratios for social media (Facebook, twitter and Instagram) suggest the chances of enhancing women's right promotion by approximately 3 times in relation to other advocacy tools.

Given the above evidence from the result, the study therefore failed to accept the null hypothesis that E-advocacy has been largely inefficient in promoting women's rights in Lagos and Ogun States. However, it is weak in the protection of women's rights as suggested by earlier evidence of the ill-equipped nature of the institutional framework that enforces these rights and the increase in the violation of women's rights despite advocacy measures. This is so according to Fayoyin (2017), an expert in the field of advocacy, who opined that promotion is different from protection. Protection of women's rights has several dimensions beyond promotion. Protection can lead to legal dimensions and service provision which may be outside the scope of promotion,

which is only designed to influence. This, he notes, will require separating advocacy tools/tactics from types/forms of advocacy as well as advocacy actors. In which case E-advocacy and celebrity advocacy becomes tools or tactics for achieving policy advocacy or other forms of advocacy, while non-profit organizations are categorized as one of the actors/organizations that carry out advocacy.

Hypothesis Two

H₀: Advocacy has no significant effect on women's rights status in Lagos and Ogun States.

Table 4.43: Model Summary on advocacy and women's right status

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	.529 ^a	.280	.277	.873
a. Predictors: (Constant), Social rights of women in my state is well protected, Celebrity should support non-profit organization more often in promoting women's rights				

The analysis of the model's summary shows a positive correlation (R=0.529) between advocacy and women's right protection with r-square of 0.280. This further implies that the predictors jointly explain 28 percent of the dependent variable, women's right protection.

Model		Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
	Regression	161.667	2	80.834	105.996	.000 ^b
	Residual	415.623	545	.763		
	Total	577.290	547			
a. Dependent Variable: Rights of women(to work, equal pay, inheritance) is protected in my state						
b. Predictors: (Constant), Social rights of women in my state is well protected, Celebrity should support non-profit organization more often in promoting women's rights						

Table 4.44: ANOVAa result on Advocacy and women's rights status

The result of the F-statistic (105.996; P-value<0.01) from the ANOVA tables clearly shows that the model correctly fits the data and could therefore be seen to be of good fit and statistically significant at 1 percent significance level.

Table 4.45: Estimates on advocacy and women's right status

Model	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
(Constant)	1.009	.222		4.551	.000
Celebrity should support non-profit organization more often in promoting women's rights	.238	.050	.178	4.766	.000
Social rights of women in my state is well protected	.457	.037	.460	12.349	.000
a. Dependent Variable: Rights of women(to work, equal pay, inheritance) is protected in my state					

Evidences from the estimated coefficient indicates a significant direct correlation between celebrities and non-governmental advocacy with women's right protection in the states ($R=0.178$; T-statistic=4.766, P-value <0.01). Further analysis of the result indicates a significant positive correlation ($R=0.460$; T-statistic=12.349, P-value <0.01) between women's social right protection and women's economic rights (to work, equal pay, and inheritance). This therefore suggests that increased support of celebrities and non-governmental organizations in the promotion of women's right coupled with improvement in protection of women's social right by the states will significantly enhance women's rights status in the states. From the above result, the study does not fail to reject the null hypothesis that there is no significant relationship between advocacy and women's rights status (protection) in Lagos and Ogun States.

Hypothesis Three

H₀: Advocacy framework has no significant influence on women's rights violation in Lagos and Ogun States.

Table 4.46: Model Summary on Advocacy framework and women's rights violation					
Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate	Durbin-Watson
1	.229 ^a	.052	.047	.868	1.740
<i>a. Predictors: (Constant), Law and policies in state are discriminatory in some ways against women, The court and the police are not well equipped to handle violation of women's rights in my state, The laws protecting women's rights in my state are</i>					
<i>b. Dependent Variable: Gender based violence is prevalent in my state</i>					

The result of the model's summary in table 4.41a above shows a positive correlation ($R=0.229$) between advocacy frame work and incidence of women's right violation while the R-squared (0.052) indicates that 5.2 percentage of the dependent variable on gender based violence was explained by the model predictors.

Table 4.47: ANOVA result on Advocacy framework and women's rights violation

Model		Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	22.274	3	7.425	9.853	.000 ^b
	Residual	403.909	536	.754		
	Total	426.183	539			
<i>a. Dependent Variable: Gender based violence is prevalent in my state</i>						
<i>b. Predictors: (Constant), Law and policies in state are discriminatory in some ways against women, The court and the police are not well equipped to handle violation of women's rights in my state, The laws protecting women's rights in my state are</i>						

The F-statistic (9.853 ; $P\text{-value}<0.01$) result from the ANOVA table suggests that the model is statistically significant at 1 percent significance level and thus suitable for the data analysis.

Table 4.48: Estimates on Advocacy framework and women's rights violation

Model	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	T	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
(Constant)	2.430	.331		7.334	.000
The court and the police are not well equipped to handle violation of women's rights in my state	.177	.040	.187	4.451	.000
Effectiveness of the laws protecting women's rights in my state.	-.104	.040	-.115	-2.577	.010
Law and policies in state are discriminatory in some ways against women	.204	.073	.125	2.793	.005
<i>a. Dependent Variable: Gender based violence is prevalent in my state</i>					

The estimated result from table 4.8a indicates that poorly equipped legal (court) and institutional (police) frameworks in handling violations of women's rights was directly related to the prevalence of gender based violence in the states. There is a positive correlation ($R=0.187$; T-statistic= 4.451 ; P-value <0.01) between poor legal institutional frameworks and incidences of gender-based violence among women in the two states. A closer observation of the result reveals that the effectiveness of laws protecting women's rights was inversely correlated ($R=-0.115$; T-statistic $=-2.577$; P-value $=0.01$) with gender-based violence which further implies the ineffectiveness of the laws in the protection of women's rights in the states. This conversely indicates a retarded effect in the promotion and protection of women's rights in the states. Discriminatory laws and policies were found to be directly associated with prevalence of gender-based violence ($R=0.125$; T-statistic $=2.793$; P-value <0.01). This implies that increase in laws and policies in the state that discriminate in some ways against women will tend to enhance gender-based violence against women in the two states. The result of the study therefore provides evidence for the rejection of the null hypothesis that there is no significant relationship between advocacy framework and incidence of women's rights violation in Lagos and Ogun States. This implies a significant and positive correlation between advocacy frameworks and incidence of women's rights violation in Lagos and Ogun States.

4.7: Qualitative Findings Based on Thematic Analysis

This section provides a thematic analysis of findings from qualitative data collected during interviews sessions held with key informants particularly women's activists, non-governmental organizations with women's rights concerns, celebrity, experts on advocacy and women in politics. The section also includes focus group discussion with four groups of persons including women and men. The findings from the qualitative data were analyzed based on the research objectives directly related to the research questions.

Research Objective One: Examine the viability and effectiveness of advocacy tools used in promoting women's rights in Lagos and Ogun States

The various key informants that were interviewed have similar perspectives about the effectiveness of specific advocacy tools/tactics used in the promotion of women's rights in Lagos and Ogun States, while differing with regards to which advocacy tools/tactic is relevant for specific women's issues and the contexts. Nollywood celebrity, Kate Henshaw opined that "all forms of advocacy are important; be it electronic, non-profit, policy and celebrity. The employment of all of these tools cannot be over emphasized." Dr. Joe Odumakin, Founder of Women Arise, a renowned woman and human rights activist in Lagos whose agency's offices and operation spread across other states including Ogun States noted that

The entire advocacies are good and have their strong points. It only depends on the kind of intervention ones is making. For policy reform and enactment of laws, Policy advocacy will be most appropriate. For public awareness and campaign on issues of concern electronic advocacy will be readily useful. I have adopted all the four at various times to achieve different purposes (Odumakin, 2017).

However, Dr. Joe Odumakin further noted that:

We engage two broad tools of advocacy - individual advocacy and systems change advocacy. Our individual advocacy focuses on changing the situation for an individual and protecting her rights while our systems advocacy refers to efforts we engage to change policy and practice at the local, state and national levels. The systems advocacy works to improve the *system* to the benefit of individuals, groups and the general public; it is a long-term approach to problem solving requiring sustained effort (Odumakin, 2017).

Furthermore, she opined that:

We engage legislative advocacy (review of laws and policies of government as it affects women, the girl-child and children generally; Policy reforms; engagement for the enactment of new laws; advocacy visits to influence policy makers and law makers decision or policies as regards to women and children); Campaign (we engage in campaign action for support for women and children issues through publication of information, education and communication materials – such as leaflets, posters, flyers, stickers, radio jingles, drama sketches etc) Rallies and Protest Marches (we conduct rallies and protest marches to advocate for support on women's human rights and the eradication of all forms of violence against women and girls) Workshops and Town Hall Meetings (we engage women and girls in training, sensitization, enlightenment and awareness workshops to educate them on their rights, how to defend it and how to speak out on issues that affect them even at their own local levels) Counselling (Women Arise runs a women's human right clinic where cases of violation and violence against women are reported, the reported cases are handled by a group of lawyers and social work experts who ensure justice and rehabilitation for the victims) Hand-Holding Support (we stand by women and girls who have challenges by bailing them at police stations or standing with them in situation of trouble) Legal Aids (We litigate perpetrators and violators of women's and girls' rights and seek justice for them in the law court) (Joe-Odumakin 2017).

Similarly, Ify Bredan-Ndukwu of Women and Children's Rights Development Centre {WOCHRID} also viewed each of the advocacy tools as effective but each having its own unique limitations. Although she perceived non-profit advocacy to be most effective, she argued that "E- advocacy is faster and more effective in reaching a greater number of people but the limitation is that majority of Nigerians are illiterate and cannot appreciate this method of advocacy." His concern about the effectiveness of E-advocacy is further amplified by the issues around access, availability, affordability of data, the challenge of poverty and gender digital divide. A study by Paradigm Initiative Nigeria (PIN), in conjunction with World Wide Web Foundation (WEB) (2015) on women's rights online, affirmed the concern around access, availability and affordability. The study reveals that 67% of women in Lagos are unable to afford a 1GB data plan and only 36% of poor women in Lagos use the Internet (PIN and WEB 2015). The study further reports that women are 50% less likely than men to be online and 30-50% less likely to use the Internet for economic and political empowerment. The implication of this is that E-advocacy mechanism that targets concerns on women's rights online are not likely to meet these women's need because they are offline.

Hence, Gbenga Sesan, the Executive Director of Paradigm Initiative Nigeria and a digital rights activist opined that “the major limitation of E-advocacy is that a large part of advocacy is offline. Advocates who fail to combine E-advocacy and offline and physical contact enabled advocacy ultimately fail”. Consequently, Toyin Oloniteru opined that:

E-Advocacy should be limited to the privilege group of women with online access. What is the point of E-advocacy to the offline and unconnected women group? We should implement government broadband policy programmes and promote the universal access and services objectives as provided for in the National Communications Act, 2003, its Universal Services Provision Funds (USPF) provisions, the Universal Services and Access Regulations etc and the various school access programmes etc. Women’s rights groups should key into the above (Oloniteru, 2017)

In a focus group discussion with five participants (three female and two male) who identified themselves (self-describe) as people involved in technology provision (ICT), they pointed out that “E-Advocacy offers a lot of opportunity to create awareness, connect women across borders and create a virtual sisterhood through which women share their wisdom, allay their fears and encourage one another.” It can also be a tool for fighting for justice for women whose rights have been violated. They all pointed to cases where use of hashtags has helped in highlighting women’s plights. Notable hashtags are the #Bringbackourgirls (BBOG) to reawaken the #metoo campaign which is helping women to highlight the cases of rape and sexual harassment around the world. The #menaretrash campaign that started in South Africa to the #Sonde a campaign to find a man who was at large after allegedly killing his wife based on his perception of her infidelity are also important here. While this group of participants expressed much optimism about E-advocacy, the reality of women experience online undermines the “manic optimism” of the first group of FGD discussants.

The second group of FGD participants was not entirely optimistic as the first group, although they share ideas on some benefits of E-advocacy with regards to how it has been useful in creating awareness, mobilizing support, educating and sustaining the momentum on women’s related concern from domestic violence, rape, girls education to gender pay gap, gender parity in governance to mention a few. However, they also highlighted the increase in violence against women online through cyberbullying, cyberstalking and body shaming of women which makes many women stay off the Internet. Added, to this is the increasing massive government surveillance of citizen activities online and the indiscriminate arrest of citizen which further

poses more challenge to E-advocates and women's rights using modern Information Communication Technology (ICT). Responding to the challenge of internet freedom and its implication on women's rights as well as the lack of institutional capacity and the underdeveloped technological capacity of most institutions in Nigeria (particularly the law enforcement agents to protect violation of women's rights online), the digital rights advocate, Gbenga Sesan opined that:

Given the spate of numerous arrests of Nigerian citizens for comments made online in the past 2 years (2016 – 2017), despite the availability of laws which protect human rights online (such as the constitution), the only hope for the defense of women's rights online is in the continued advocacy by digital rights advocates for the respect of the rule of law. Law enforcement agencies must refuse to selectively interpret the law in the service of their paymasters. The historic perception of the rights of women in Nigeria too has to be challenged, because how women are perceived offline is what spills online (Sesan, 2017).

Furthermore, contrary to the concern of the second group of informants about massive surveillance as a challenge to E-advocacy, Toyin Oloniteru, a cyber-crime expert submitted that the claim about citizens' privacy and freedom of expression online is a smear campaign by the opposition on the current administration. In his words:

Where is the federal government's massive surveillance on citizen online? Our government is still trying to achieve 30% broadband access! I consider such allegations to be fake news. Where is the infrastructure (network, facilities, people, processes, procedures, policies, software, hardware etc) installed or available to do massive surveillance? (Oloniteru, 2017)

The above highlighted mixed reactions about the effectiveness and benefits of e-advocacy as a tool for promoting women's rights. This is further exacerbated by the fact that the Internet is not the first course of resources for most women. The earlier report from PIN and WWF asserts that "Only 10% of women Internet users had ever searched for information on sexual and reproductive health online, while 19% have looked for a job using online portals or information about women's health, rights and other. More so, "services that promote women's well-being is lacking online. Most websites are in English, and many women with limited education are unlikely to benefit. Just 2% of women have access to mobile financial services." The implication is that most women are unlikely to participate and benefit from online activism. It is within this context that one of the participants involved in the second FGD argued that E-advocacy is elitist as it can only involve women who have Internet access and for women whose affordability of 1G

data is a luxury. It is however important to stress that the argument from the second FGD is not to discredit or diminish the effectiveness of E-advocacy but a perspective necessary to balance the optimism of the first group of FGD with reality of women's experience.

Toyin Oloniteru also noted that “the limitations of E-advocacy are lack of or inadequacies of technology infrastructure, high level illiteracy and digital education pedagogy inadequacies among advocates.” Added to this is the:

The proliferation of intellectual technicians within the E-Advocacy space. Intellectual technicians are those not properly trained or structured in a subject matter and claiming to be expert there. The other is how to get top level government buy-in with the political will to create enabling environment for E-advocacy exercises and activities (Oloniteru, 2017).

Despite the limitations, Gbenga Sesan noted that “technology, such as social media, have greatly reduced some of the traditional costs of running NGOs, such as communications costs”. To curb violence against women online and the limitation to E-advocacy, Oloniteru (2017) offered the following suggestions.

Curbing violence against the very few women with online participation entails:

- a) Getting this privileged group of women properly educated and informed on cyberspace issues– its benefits and challenges and the attributes of it that amount to online violence.
- b) Educating this privileged group of women on ethics and good moral behaviours online e.g. soliciting help from remotely unknown persons within or outside their jurisdictions (same or opposite sex), trying to exploit such unknown persons financially.
- c) Educating this privileged group of women on cybercrime especially the Cybercrime Prohibition and Prevention Act (CPPA) (2015) of the Federal Republic of Nigeria; the Nigeria Anti Terrorism Law and relationship with the CPPA, and the ngCERT (Nigeria Emergency Response Team) in the Office of the National Security Adviser (ONSA).
- d) Educating this privileged group of women on how and who to report online violence acts to – security agencies, nongovernmental organizations and other government agencies etc.

Similarly, with respect to other tools of advocacy such as non-profit advocacy, policy and celebrity advocacy, there are varying perspectives. For instance, Ify Bernard Ndukwu (2017) noted that non-profit advocacy

Should be given priority as it has the advantage of reaching both learned and the unlearned, the urban and rural communities, as well as the grassroots. It is the most effective tool in bringing about the desired changes in Nigeria and Lagos

State. Also, policy advocacy is effective but most times it requires very structural approach to achieve the desired changes however, it is an effective tool in getting the attention of the government and policy makers to change any undermining policy in the country. Celebrity Advocacy is very effective if the Celebrity is an A list and has a lot of fan base (Bernard Ndukwu, 2017).

Dr. Princess Olufemi-Kayode of Media Concern Initiative had a variegated feeling about celebrity advocacy. She opined that celebrity advocacy no doubt brings awareness to the social cause but most time, the awareness does not culminate in social change because the number of likes on social platform of a celebrity does not always translate into action and money needed to fund projects and activities required to bring change to women's issues. In her words

Celebrity advocacy has its ups and down. You can use their followership to generate awareness but more is required to change for women's rights. But I think it will be more effective if celebrity followership generates fund for the cause. For instance, imagine if every follower of the celebrity that supports a cause donates 10 naira, calculate how much that is and how many shelters we can build and how many existing shelters can be sustained (Olufemi-Kayode, 2017)

For Barrister Titi Akosa, the Executive Director of 21st Century Issues, the answer to the effectiveness of advocacy tools is yes and no and this is because:

A measuring scale is required to ascertain if advocacy is producing the desired objectives". Nevertheless, in Lagos State, effectiveness can be measured against the Gender and Social Inclusion Charter. The Gender and Social Inclusion Charter centres on seven ask. But to be fair I think Lagos is making sincere effort even though we are not there yet (Akosa, 2017).

Research Objective Two: Investigate the underlying factors responsible for growing incidence of women's rights violation in Lagos and Ogun States

Each key informant identified various factors responsible for the increasing violation of women's rights. While they varied in their analysis of the factors, the reason they gave remain largely intertwined. They all noted that factors such as culture, religion, poverty, weakness of institution (legal and enforcement; police) required to enforce laws as major factors that account for the increasing incidence of women's rights violation. Specifically, Barrister Titi Akosa of 21st Century Issue, while commending the effort of the stakeholders, noted that a major factor for increasing violence against women is the inability of stakeholders in women's rights project to map policy space, policy moment and be strategic in their advocacy efforts. In her words:

Stakeholder hardly maps their policy space, do not take advantage of a policy moment and are not strategic enough. Even if it means making a foe as friend because influence matter, no matter the good intention, influence is key. And in order to influence for change, you need voice and quality voice at that. Voice counts and weighs differently. It carries different weight when I speak about an issue compared with when Wole Soyinka speaks about the same thing. The

quality of voice and the issues that are analysed by the voice will either add to it or detract from it. Most importantly, I think mapping the policy space and policy moment is key for women's issue. Look at the people involved in #notooyoungtorun bill, they took advantage of the period of constitutional amendment and got key players behind themselves.

She added the necessity of negotiating, why NGOs should carve a niche in women's rights issues rather than being everywhere, and the need to pay attention to studying policy environment, context and space to make policy effective and efficient. Without ignoring the role of stigmatization, lack of enforcement of law, she makes the case with respect to women's civil and political rights that "no one will yield their space without a fight." Also, Akosa made a case for a new strategy for addressing women's rights because there are no one size fit all answer to women's issues and what worked yesterday may not work today. In line with concerns about the limitations of institutions whose operations cover women's rights advocacy, the Executive Director of Media Concern Initiative observed that "most of the institutions concerned with enforcement are either over-burdened or are ill-equipped at addressing the needs of women hence the increase in violation of women's rights".

Research Objective Three: Interrogate issues associated with the lack of effectiveness of advocacy framework in the promotion and protection of women's rights in Lagos and Ogun States

Data gathered from the interviews and FDG sessions revealed various challenges with advocacy frameworks in the promotion and protection of women's rights in Lagos and Ogun States. Ify Bernard Ndukwu of Women and Children's Rights Development Centre {WOCHRID} noted that one of foremost challenges of advocacy in Lagos where she operates from is funding and cultural beliefs about women, a major hindrance to the work of his organization. In his words:

Our organization is financially self-sponsored, so most times we are challenged financially in reaching out to a wider target groups. Cultural beliefs also hinder our effort in convincing women not to subject themselves to violence and abuse by their spouses (Bernard Ndukwu, 2017).

With regards to funding, he noted that as an organization, "they have notable project that can help in empowering women economically but "lack of adequate funding to execute most projects" pull them back. This is exacerbated by the "lack of effective collaboration by the State Government and unwillingness on the part of most of the target groups to accept change." Gbenga Sesan, the Digital Rights Advocate echoed the concern of. Ify Bernard Ndukwu, when

he noted that, “perhaps, the most important is the shrinking funding for digital rights as traditional funders move on to other priorities. Also, the apathy of the citizens for whom we work is also problematic.”

Celebrity and Nollywood Actress Henshaw also expressed a similar concern on funding for women's civil and political rights, particularly in elective and appointive positions. She noted that while progress has been made with regard to these rights, “a lot more needs to be done to get a sizeable representation of women in to these positions so as to successfully push issues that affect the Nigerian woman. For her, “lack of finances is a huge deterrent for any woman trying to go into politics”. The concern of Kate Henshaw who was once a political aspirant about the challenge of finance as a major factor undermining women’s rights promotion and protection in Nigeria was echoed by the third group of focus group discussants which include active women in politics and those who belong to one political party or the other. This group of discussants agreed that women’s civil and political rights in elective and appointive positions are all about money, who you know and your ability to “sleep with” your party “godfather” who can either nominate you for appointment or push for your political career”. Mrs Christaina Lawal who has been an active member of different political parties since 1976 (from UPN, UNCP, AD, UNPP, CPC UNPN, ACN, APC and now a member of APC) also shared the view that running for political office is expensive and not many women have the fund to do so.

Similarly, the same concern about the challenge of funding was expressed by Barrister Titi Akosa, the Executive Director of 21st Century Issue and Dr.Princess Olufemi-Kayode of Media Concern Initiative. The former opined that the capital intensive nature of addressing the human needs of hundreds of people that they cater for is a major albatross to their advocacy. In her words, “It is financially demanding when people come to you for help whether financial, legal and otherwise but you don’t have the resources to meet their needs. What I do most time is direct them to Government for help. The Lagos State Government has the Domestic Violence Response Team (DVRT) Programme that helps victim of sexual abuse so I direct cases related to sexual and domestic abuse to them.” The latter expressed the financial cost of running a shelter to help victims of sexual violence and domestic abuse. During the interview, she said:

There is so much involved in running an NGO. For instance, to set up a shelter, you need a property of your own or you will have to pay for rent, then you need staff to manage the daily operation of the shelter (cooks, driver, accountant,), you need collaboration with service centres such as Doctors in case any of the occupants get sick (Olufemi-Kayode, 2017).

In addition to funding in order to actualize the civil and political rights is the issue of “femocracy” as against feminism. Amina Mama coined the term *femocracy* and established the difference between feminism and “femocracy”

Feminism is defined as being the popular struggle of African women for their liberation from the various forms of oppression they endure. It is counterpoised to the idea of a femocracy - an anti-democratic female power structure which claims to exist for the advancement of ordinary women, but is unable to do so because it is dominated by a small clique of women whose authority derives from their being married to powerful men, rather than from any actions or ideas of their own. Femocracies exploit the commitments of the international movement for greater gender equality while actually only advancing the interests of a small female elite, and in the long-term undermining women's interests by upholding the patriarchal status quo. In short, femocracy is a feminine autocracy running in parallel to the patriarchal oligarchy upon which it relies for its authority, and which it supports completely (Mama, 1995:31).

While none of the women interviewed or engaged in focus group discussions used the term femocracy, all the concerns and explanations about their experiences and those of others that they know pointed to its use by selected group of women, who have privileged background and “connections” within their party, and have been recruited to do the bidding of patriarchy while claiming to speak for the rest of other women. Mrs. Christaina Lawal, for instance, cited cases of women in Ogun and Lagos states who either got appointment or were elected based on either marriage or being a daughter of a political party big wig or the involvement of their family in the past or present in politics as a reason for their election or appointment to the position. Her views were further affirmed by the third group of discussants who pointed that

Mrs. Remi Tinubu was nominated in her party the APC because of the influence of her husband, Abike Dabiri was appointed because of her husband’s relationship with key politicians, so also the current Finance Minister, Mrs. Kemi Adeosun was not part of politics until she was recruited to serve as Ogun State Commissioner for Finance before her federal appointment as Minister of Finance

Furthermore, Dr. Joe Odumakin of Women Arise held that while significant progress has been made with respect to women’s rights in general, there is still more to be achieved with respect to

women's rights. The major challenges to the promotion and protection of women's rights are "lack of political will on the part of the policy makers, the unwillingness of government to implement pro-women policies; bureaucracy in term of advocacy visits, failure on the part of lawmakers to enact pro women laws (most especially in Ogun State) and insincerity on the part of those who are in authority. In her words

Our major challenge is the insincerity of the people in government, the leadership at the executive, legislative and judicial arms of government lack the sincerity of purpose. They deliberately slow down or outrightly reject policy reforms, most of the time they frustrate advocacy efforts to have pro-women policies enacted. The lack of political will on the part of Nigerian leaders for genuine inclusion of women is another challenge on our advocacy work. More often than not, politicians are only interested in policies and issues that will allow them receive more funds and issues that will allow for their re-election. Most of them do not see women's human rights issues as serious issues that needed urgent attention (Odumakin, 2017).

She further noted that:

The patriarchal nature of our culture and religion are also part of the challenges militating against our advocacy work for gender equality. Some men believe it is cultural to beat women, some believe that widows should as a matter of tradition go through harrowing experiences; most policies and regulations discriminate against women (Odumakin, 2017).

Odumakin noted also that "a major deterrence to women's ascendancy into elective position in Lagos and Ogun States remains internal party politics." Her perspective was affirmed by the fourth group of FGD participants which comprised women in politics in Ogun and Lagos States. One of the participants noted how she was asked to step down for another male candidate because he had a godfather who was ready to go to any length to sponsor him. It is important to note that the concerns expressed in most of the discussions were not different from those that have been identified in previous literatures such as explained by Ogbogu (2012). This submission affirmed findings of some previous studies while also pointing to new directions. The location of these issues as a violation of rights makes room for redress. However, as social issues, violators can hide under relativism to keep up the violation of rights. On economic, cultural and social rights (equal pay rights, inheritance, access to loan and credit facilities), Dr. Joe Odumakin noted:

Equal pay rights status is still worrisome, though civil servants in both states have equal pay schedule but slow promotion for women remains a great challenge in the civil service. In the private sector, the discrimination remains obvious and strong. Women are still barred from inheritances, and a lot of families still practice that in Ogun State.

Furthermore, on specific ECOSOC rights (female genital mutilation, rape, and gender based violence) Dr. Joe Odumakin submitted that “the status of rape and gender based violence is still alarming but the intervention to block the gap in Lagos is very strong while Ogun State is still lagging behind in the fight against GBV.” Ify Bernard Chukwu’s comments on social rights of women in Lagos affirmed the implication of Lagos’ development and urban renewal efforts on women. In her words:

The restructuring of Lagos State into a mega city, which entails construction of dual carriage roads, renewal and beautification of public parks, expansion of water infrastructure, construction of light rail system, slum upgrading and reconstruction of public facilities came at a huge social cost to women and children living and doing business in unsecured and illegal structures and slum. This has resulted in many of the women being displaced from their homes and business premises without any alternative or compensation from the government. This situation has worsened the already impoverished status of these groups of citizens. (2017)

4.8: Discussion of Findings

The findings of the study reveal that among the four types of advocacy tools selected for the study, E-advocacy was adjudged to be the most effective tool and within the e-advocacy tool or category, social media was chosen as the most effective and appropriate tool for the promotion and protection of women’s rights. This study affirms the submissions of earlier studies by Aleyomi and Ajakaiye (2012); Kalyango Jr and AduKumi (2013); Okoro and Nwafor (2013); Dunu and Uzochukwu (2015) wherein the use of Facebook as a social media tool was seen as an effective tool for mobilization for election, communication and social change. For instance, studies have found Facebook to be the most effective tool for 2016 election mobilization and campaigns that produced Donald Trump as the President of the United States. Hence, the British Broadcasting Cable (BBC) claimed that “Facebook Changed the World” by becoming a tool for the “Arab Spring,” (Newsom and Lengel, 2012). Although it has not replaced traditional

advocacy media, its growing acceptance indicates that electronic advocacy is a powerful tool for social change (Dunlop and Fawcett, 2008).

The significance of this striking finding is that it provides a digital map for stakeholders in women's rights project to know where to concentrate their advocacy in order to garner more support for the protection and promotion of women's rights. The concept of digital mapping draws on an analysis of internet behaviours of users to explain where they are most engaged and active online versus where they are less engaged and active. Prensky (2001) was the person first to develop a label in explaining internet behaviours to mark the distinction of people who are entirely at ease within the digital space, who he tagged as digital native and those who manage to exist in the virtual world, which he tagged as digital immigrant. He writes:

What should we call these "new" students of today? Some refer to them as the N-[for Net]-gen or D-[for digital]-gen. But the most useful designation I have found for them is Digital Natives. Our students today are all "native speakers" of the digital language of computers, video games and the Internet. So what does that make the rest of us? Those of us who were not born into the digital world but have, at some later point in our lives, become fascinated by and adopted many or most aspects of the new technology are, and always will be compared to them, Digital Immigrants. (p56)

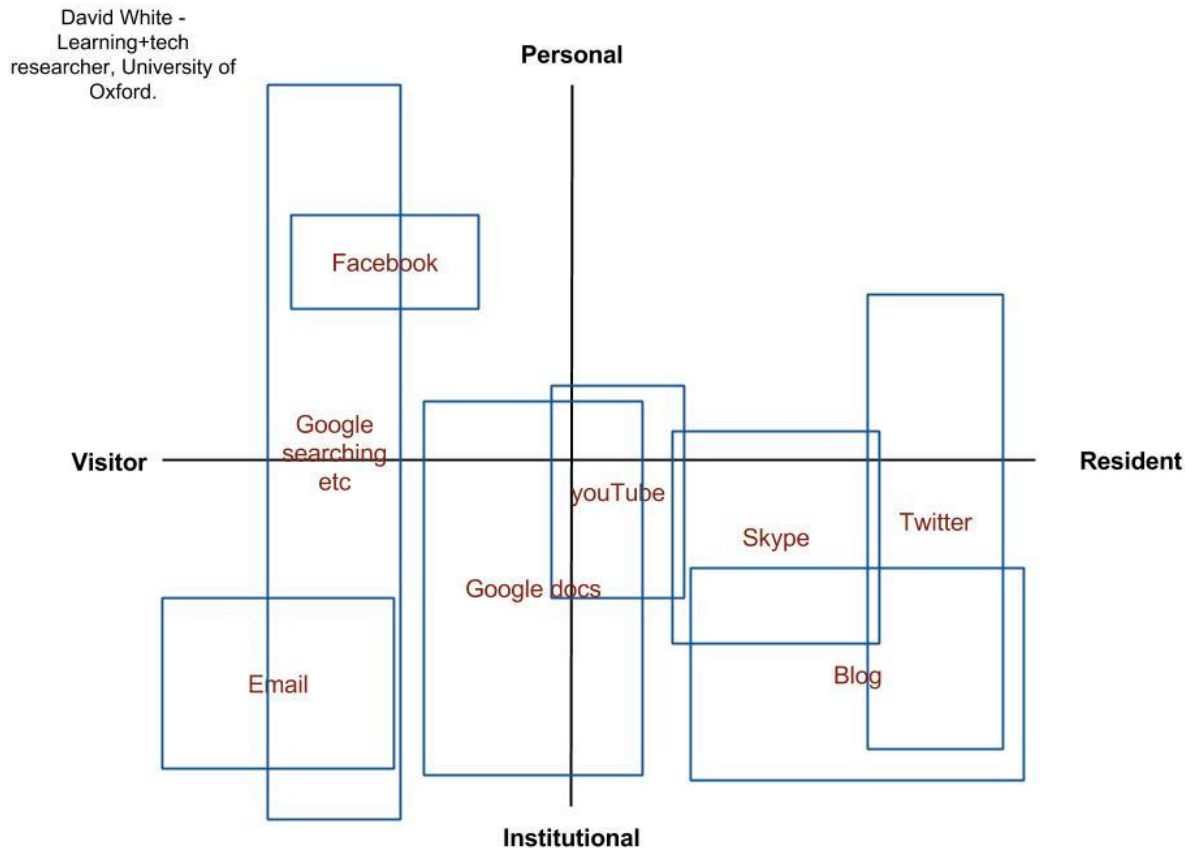
These terminologies "digital immigrant and native" have been used until debates about its accuracy, appropriateness and disadvantage were highlighted by critics. One of the disadvantages of Prensky's analogy is that his analysis fails to consider context, motivation and it is redundant in today's world since his analysis pre-dates the launching of what we now commonly known as social media applications. Particularly, Bennett, Maton, and Kervin, (2008:87) argue that Prensky's framework is

.. Limited in scope and focus, the research evidence to date indicates that proportions of young people are highly adept with technology and rely on it for a range of information gathering and communication activities. However, there also appears to be a significant proportion of young people who do not have the levels of access or technology skills predicted by proponents of the digital native idea. Such generalizations about a whole generation of young people thereby focus attention on technically adept students. With this comes the danger that those less interested and less able will be neglected, and that the potential impact of socio-economic and cultural factors will be overlooked. It may be that there is as much variation within the digital native generation as between the generations.

Similarly, Margaryan and Littlejohn (cited in White and Le Cornu, 2011) opined:

Many young students are far from being the epitomic global, connected, socially networked technologically-fluent digital native who has little patience for passive and linear forms of learning. While the use of technologies is limited in terms of the range and the nature, there is some evidence that younger students use some tools more actively than the older students, but neither of these two groups uses these technologies to support their learning effectively. Educators therefore cannot presume that all young students are “digital natives” who understand how to use technology to support and enhance their learning (2008:22).

The criticism of Prensky’s framework led to the ‘Visitors’ and ‘Residents’ frameworks proposed by White and LeCornu (2011) as replacements for Prensky’s digital native vs digital immigrant framework.



Source: White and Le Cornu (2011)

Unlike Prensky’s Framework, White and Le Cornu (2011) looked at virtual engagement from the point of resident and visitor, as opposed to comparing engagement to native and immigrant. At the core of the resident and visitor spectrum is motivation and the task to be done. In other words, place, tools and task are significant tools of analyzing internet engagement rather than

competence, age and cognitive ability. Internet users are able to incorporate questions-- ‘What am I going there for?’, ‘What am I hoping to achieve?’, ‘Which place best serves my purpose?’, and ‘How long do I intend to stay?’ Others are ‘Have I got the skills that I need?’ and ‘Am I happy to be on my own, or would I prefer to be in company?’-- to determine whether they are visitors or residents’ paradigm in specific digital space (White and Le Cornu, 2011).

The usefulness of digital mapping is in the strength that the finding of the study provides for stakeholders involved in issues about women’s rights to improve strategic planning, organizational efficiency and effective mobilization to gain online support for women’s rights. The implication of this finding is that NGOs may need to blog less and spend less on generating listserv, instead, it could mean that they need to engage more social media applications/platforms such as Facebook, Instagram and Twitter. Justification for the use of E-advocacy as the most effective can be explained by the liberalization of the telecommunication sector which allows Internet service providers (ISP) to emerge, compete to gain the large market that Nigeria offers and serve the teeming population. Also, one can rationalize the justification for increasing use of e-advocacy tool to the proliferation of ordinary phones, smart phones and internet softwares that allow people to connect with one another thus closing the gap between space, time and distance.

However, it is pertinent to note that while e-advocacy is deemed effective and so much is said about the globalization of the world via the instrument of technology, the questions of access, affordability, availability and digital divide still remain a major challenge or barrier to the maximization of the benefits that e-advocacy offerse. The digital divide has widened the gap between those who have access to information, internet, communication technology and those who do not have despite the claim of a world flattened by the force of technology. Factors such as race, income, gender, age and geopolitics affect access, availability and affordability of internet in developing countries, especially Nigeria. Affordability is still a challenge for many people in Nigeria due to the slow pace of policy and regulatory progress (Alliance for Affordable Internet (A4AI). According to A4AI (2017) reports, Nigeria ranks 13th (out of 58 countries surveyed) on the 2017 Affordability Drivers Index (ADI). This is a decrease from the 12th place ranking Nigeria earned in the 2015-16.

Also, the question of online safety for women as well as its impact on their wellbeing largely remains a concern. Studies by Fardouly and Vartanian (2015); Tiggemann and Miller (2010);

Tiggemann and Slater (2013); and Fardouly, Diedrichs, Vartanian and Halliwell (2015) have found a positive correlation between Facebook usage and women's body dissatisfaction. Similarly, Nwammuo (2013) found Facebook to be an avenue for perpetuating violence against women. Also, the virtual space has become the place for cyberbullying, body shaming, harassment and stalking of women online. This is exacerbated by the increasing pace of cybercrime and usage of virtual space information to attack or gain access to people's financial details online with a view to fleecing them.

Contrary to these concerns, 312(84%) respondents in this study agreed to the claim that e-advocacy is reducing the violation of women's rights and 156 (%) strongly agreed that it is effective in highlighting the violation of women's rights. More so, while the e-advocacy has its advantages, the downside of it necessitates the importance of online activism with offline action to incorporate the millions of people who are offline. Recognizing the importance of e-advocacy does not imply that NGOs will discontinue their traditional advocacy practice. Rather, it does suggest that situations most NGOs will face in the future will require new knowledge and technological skills such as using social softwares to increase the electronic advocacy capabilities of non-profit organizations.

Furthermore, while the study corroborates earlier studies like those of Oyesomi, Okorie, Omole and Smith (2014) on use of social media particularly Facebook by women; and Sesan (2006) on use of technologies by NGO, 239(38.9%) respondents in this study agreed that NGOs are effectively using e-advocacy. However, it is contradictory to some earlier studies in the following ways. Previous studies find a gender dimension to internet access, availability, affordability and online engagement which ultimately affect the extent e-advocacy is used by women. The Alliance for Affordable Internet (A4AI), the World Wide Web Foundation, and the Paradigm Initiative have found a gender digital divide in terms of access, affordability, availability and level of engagement between men and women. While this study did not test all of the parameters, its point of distinction in term of level of engagement differs from previous study's as majority of the respondents of the study (which are women) use internet always and use it for the promotion of women's cultural rights among other forms of women's rights (See Table 4.1). This difference between this study and previous studies does not in any way invalidate preceding and ongoing studies; it suggests that context, class, education, employment

status matter in the application of e-advocacy. However, despite all the support for E-advocacy; its visibility and success in highlighting social change and the extent to which women's online activism has been able to shape and influence policy making remain patchy and unpredictable (Loiseau and Nowacka, 2015).

Secondly, studies on celebrity advocacy as it relates to social cause and engagement of women's rights is relatively new, hence the study is a breath of fresh air in the discourse on women's question. It provides a new vista for examining the questions around celebrity advocacy or activism and the study relies on the issues, controversies, and debates around celebrity advocacy in developed countries as it relates to social cause and the advancement social change, so as to interrogate women's rights in Nigeria and particularly in Lagos and Ogun States. With regards to the effectiveness of celebrity advocacy in the promotion of social cause by bringing awareness to issues on women's rights and gaining public support, the study corroborates other studies on the role of celebrities in increasing support for women's rights. For instance, majority of the respondents 227(74.7%) strongly supported the position that the collaboration between celebrities and NGOs working on women's rights has the possibility of increasing awareness on these issues and benefit the reputation of the NGOs involved. In other words, celebrity advocacy offers a lot of possibility and potentials for NGOs to project widely their positions on women's rights.

Conversely, while most of the respondents found celebrity advocacy useful, the study finds a contradiction as majority 271(79.2%) of the audiences who supported the idea that celebrities should support NGOs involved in women's rights also agreed that celebrities involved in women's rights advocacy stand a better chance of boosting their own images. This invokes the question of whether celebrity advocacy is about women's cause or a celebrity image. However, probing the authenticity and dichotomy that exist between the social cause and image of the celebrity is outside the scope of this study, and therefore gives a useful guide for further research in the future.

Furthermore, contentious issues around the authenticity of celebrity remain unresolved. Who do celebrity advocate act for, themselves or the cause? Should celebrity advocacy be taken seriously when celebrities speak about their experiences with abuse, gender based violence, sexual

harassment and other forms of violation of women's rights? The latter question has become important with the alleged claim that celebrities hide behind social cause or women's right to play the role of victims when they were actually the oppressors. Can celebrities be an authentic voice for feminist idea since they may likely go beyond boundaries in their words and action of what is considered, seen or believe to be feminist or favorable to women's rights cause? This is the case between feminist scholars in the United States of America and the popular culture which consists of artists, musicians, celebrities and activists, NGOs and others who share concern with the issue of women's rights. An example is the issue of Emma Watson's pose in the Vanity Fair Magazine. Emma Watson has been the UN Ambassador for "He For She campaign" which is promoting efforts to include men in the advocacy for women's rights. However, following her Semi-Nude pose in Vanity Fair, too many people find it difficult to understand how she can pose Semi-Nude in Vanity Fair and still be a feminist.

Similarly, in Nollywood, Actress Tontoh Dike wearing what was considered a "male attire" to her son's school sparked off a lot of debate about her legitimacy as a voice for issues on women's rights (since she had earlier publicly talked about her experience with abuse in her marriage). While some consider her action as challenging patriarchy, others argue it is affirming it as she needed to be like men to act the role of men. Other unanswered questions about celebrity advocacy on feminism include: Are celebrities a "burden or a blessing" to the feminist movement as they sometimes may contradict popular feminist belief or scholarly or academic perspective on feminist issues? This is so evident in the portrayal of female leadership/agency in American TV series, *scandal*. Also, can celebrities be taken for their word /stance on feminism as there has been alleged claim of celebrities who spoke for feminism in public and suffered in silence and in private the very thing they outwardly spoke against. Who hold celebrities accountable for their words on feminist and women's issues? These questions, debates and controversies among others are areas for further research to scholars and researchers interested in celebrity advocacy in the global south and particularly Nigeria.

Thirdly, non-Profit advocacy, referred to as NGOs in other contexts, has not been extensively studied in this locale, especially their effectiveness in advancing advocacy on women's rights. Extant literatures on the subject are studies by Mba (1982), Olojede (1995), Toyo (1997), Pereira (1997), and Salihu (1997) who have examined the dominant women's interest groups in post-

independence Nigeria. Yet, these studies are not recent. Similarly, while existent literature applauds the role of non-profit in engendering the present democratic process and ensuring government accountability, their impact and effectiveness within the context of women's rights in Nigeria has been marginally explored. However, despite the dearth of studies on the effectiveness of non-profit organizations on women's rights, studies of Arum (2010), Ngeh (2013), Dible and Okere (2015), and Baba (2015) have examined the roles of women NGOs in education, rural development, the challenges facing NGOs and gender diversity of management boards of NGOs in comparison to government-managed institutions. Yet, there are limited studies that examine the effectiveness of NGOs in promoting and protecting women's rights. Arguably, the dearth of such studies can be attributed to the controversies and contentions on parameters for assessing or evaluating the effectiveness of NGOs. Hence, this study relied on common themes for assessing effectiveness of social movement, and Ombudsman and social change in extant literatures to examine the effectiveness of NGOs regarding women's rights.

The findings of the study revealed that the public perceive NGOs as effective in the promotion and protection of women's rights based on four selected parameters: legitimacy in the eyes of the public, public perception of their transparency indicated by their access to public funding, public assessment of their performance and their capacity to effect change. Of the four metrics for measuring the effectiveness of NGOs promoting and protecting women's rights, NGOs were affirmed to be effective by three criteria. Legitimacy was affirmed by public support of NGOs as 216 (68.1%) of the respondents in the study were conversant with up to three NGOs and all agreed to the statement that NGOs were doing enough to promote women's rights. The largest percentage 233(83.2) of the participants supported NGOs online through social platforms (such as follow, like or share contents). Hence, their popularity is a testament to their legitimacy with the public that they serve.

On the issue of transparency, further analysis shows that respondent believed in the transparency with which NGOs manage their finances. Three hundred and five (82.4%) of the respondents that supported and 61(37.7%) that strongly supported NGOs financially believed that the NGOs were doing enough in promoting issues on women's rights. Again, financial commitment to them showed the public perception of their efficacy. Detailed analysis of the result shows that majority of the respondents agreed on the need for more NGOs that would be promoting and protecting

women's rights in Lagos and Ogun states. Arguably, one can say the desire for more NGOs by respondents is a reflection of how much the public perceive their (NGOs') effectiveness and performance.

Nevertheless, while empirical evidence from the study reveals public perception of their effectiveness, debates around NGOs' regulation bill in Nigeria by the National Assembly contradict the public support for NGOs. The NGOs' regulation bill was introduced by the Deputy Majority Leader, Honourable Umar Buba Jubril on the account that NGOs need to be regulated to ensure their transparency, accountability, and responsibility to the goals, purpose or mission which they seek to achieve without becoming facade for perpetuating terrorism, trafficking and other social ills.

The study examined policy advocacy as a tool for promoting women's rights in Nigeria. Unlike every other type of advocacy examined in this study, respondents' perception of its effectiveness is mixed. For instance, the highest proportion of the participants 215(77.6%) who agreed that their state policies/laws was gender-sensitive also attested to the opinion that social policy was highly ineffective and gender sensitive. In other words, the respondents affirmed that their state policy is gender sensitive yet social policy that is gender inclusive is absent. The explanation for this contradiction is beyond the scope of this work but arguably, one can suspect that there is a fear of reversed gender inequality in which the reality of women's predicament today becomes the situation of men tomorrow. Despite this discrepancy, majority 337(65.6%) of the respondents who agreed that their state policies/laws were gender sensitive were of strong support on the need to enforce women's rights protection through sanctioning of perpetrators who violate them. One hundred and thirty-five (26.3%) of the respondents strongly agreed on both the gender sensitivity of the state policies/laws and the need for women's right protection, while 7(36.8%) were undecided on both issues.

Detailed diagnostic of the results indicates that the largest proportion 297(77.3%) of the respondents agreed on the co-existence of gender sensitivity and discriminatory state laws and policies against women. For instance, in fifty-seven years since the country attained independence, its Penal Code still grants husbands permission to beat their wives, provided the violence does not result in serious injury. Furthermore, the Nigerian legal system is made up of English common law, customary law, Islamic (Sharia) law and statutory law. Customary law is

prevalent in the Southern part whilst Sharia law permeates the Northern states of Nigeria. Consequently, the findings of the study not only revealed the presence of discriminatory policies, it also showed that ill-equipped legal and institutional capacity contributes to increasing violation of women's rights particularly cultural rights. Specifically, it is observed that 191(71.0%) of the respondents that agreed on the existence of ill-equipped legal institutional framework also attested to the violation of women's rights by the practice of cultural norm. Both issues were strongly supported by 34(44.7%) others.

Thus, a significant level of association between poorly equipped legal institutional frameworks and incidences of women's right violation, (gender based violence, genital mutilation and sexual based violence) could be observed. Particularly, gender based violence was observed to be significantly associated with poorly equipped legal institutional framework. Detailed analysis of the relationship between ill-equipped legal institutions and genderbased violence shows that 244(73.1%) which constitute the highest percentage of the respondents agreed on the existence of both ill-equipped legal institutional framework and incidences of gender based violence against women. Both arguments were strongly supported by 39(50.0%) of the participants while 11(14.3%) were undecided about it. Additionally, most of the participants 177(78.0%) who agree there is ill-equipped legal institutional framework that address the issue of women's right violation were also support that there are incidences of women's right violation through female genital mutilation (See table). Detailed result of the analysis shows that 44(57.9%) of the audience strongly supported both views though 12(16.4%) were indeterminate.

A critical observation of the results shows that the highest proportion 250(71.8%) of the participants that held the view of ill-equipped legal institutional arrangement also agreed to stigmatization as a major reason why women do not report sexual based violence. These views were strongly supported by another 54(45.8%) of the respondents while 2(33.3%) strongly opposed the position and 9(15.0%) were undecided on the issues. Further analysis of the result however suggests that 10(8.5%) who disagreed and 6(6.8%) that strongly disagreed to the ill-equipment of the legal institutional arrangement were in strong support the view that the prevalence of stigmatization is responsible for the low reportage of incidence of sexual violence by female victims. The existence of limited laws protecting female victims of various forms of abuse was positively correlated with ill-equipped legal institutions ($R=0.242$, $P\text{-value}<0.01$;

$X^2=254.465$, $P\text{-value}<0.01$). Detailed analysis of the results indicates that quite a large number 234(76.7%) of the audience were in agreement with these arguments 61(51.3%) strongly agreed to these statements, 13(18.6%) claimed to be indeterminate about both arguments, while 4(21.1%) strongly opposed the idea.

4.9: Synthesis of Discussion of Findings

The study examined the effectiveness of advocacy tools by the various metrics of measurement. The findings of the study reveal that advocacy tools examined were effective in the promotion of women's rights but they were not in the protection of women's rights. The distinction between promotion and protection is evident in the increasing awareness on issues concerning women's rights, which is the goal of promotion. Unfortunately, there is increasing violation despite growing awareness on the issue. It suggests that protection is weak despite promotion. Findings from the study reveal that female genital mutilation is on the increase and so is gender based violation (See table). Also, extant literatures affirm that in terms of civil and political rights, particularly in terms of participation and representation in politics, elective and appointive position, the levels of gender parity and diversity remain low when compared with global and regional benchmarks. These findings corroborate existing studies on the increasing prevalent of violation of women's rights and provide new direction for examining gender and question of women's rights.

Thus, based on empirical evidence, all the advocacy tools employed in this study offer numerous benefits for the promotion of women's rights, creating awareness that leads to recognition of women's rights advocacy among others, but it is limited in driving protection (enforcement) of women's rights. Recognition is a political act by which the recognizing state indicates its willingness to take effective measures towards 'reforming' or domesticating its legal system to reflect the provisions of international legal framework for which the country is signatory (Holt, 1991; Adolfo, 2010). However, enforcement requires greater commitment in form of empowerment for the judiciary and executive through the provision of tools resources and capacity to enforce the law. Adolfo (2010) further suggests that recognition usually means a possibility for legal reform and the willingness of states to enter into official dialogue, but it does not mean commitment to changing internal structure to accommodate and enforce the law.

Nigeria is signatory to several international treaties on human rights and the specific rights of women. Some of these international treaties ratified by Nigeria include: the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) signed in 1993, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) signed also in 1993; the International Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination (CERD) in 1967, the Optional Protocol on ICCPR concerning individual petition, and the Convention Against Torture and other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (CAT) of 2001. Others are the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) in 1984, and the Optional Protocol on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women signed in 2004 (Dada, 2014). Nigeria has made efforts at gender policy, gender quotas and affirmative action and gender mainstream, but the enforcement requirements have been abysmal.

Similarly, there is an increased momentum in activism since the return to democratic rule in 1999, so also is increase in women NGOs notable among which are Bring Back Our Girls (BBOG), Women in Nigeria (WIN) and Women Arise to mention but a few. While advocacy has multiplied over time, the status of women's rights from representation and participation in politics, economic rights, to gender equality and cultural rights remain very low when compared with global and regional benchmarks or those of other African states such as Rwanda and Senegal. For instance, the British Council's (2012:2-5) study titled *Gender in Nigeria* reports that the country currently stands at 118th out of 192 countries in terms of gender parity, thereby lagging far behind fellow African countries such as South Africa (43th) and Rwanda (65th). Also, the United Nations Development Programme's (UNDP) (2016) Human Development reports on Gender Inequality Index (GII) which measured maternal mortality ratio, adolescent birth rate, share of seats in parliament, population with at least some secondary education and labour force, ranked Nigeria 157 out of 188 countries examined. This standing is disappointing when compared with Botswana that ranked 106, São Tomé and Príncipe placed at 143 positions and Kenya occupying the 145th position. The report further stated that sub-Saharan Africa was losing an estimated average of \$95 billion due to gender inequality issues. Hence, an urgent call and necessity to move beyond promotion to protection of women's rights.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Preamble

This chapter is divided into five sections: summary, conclusions, recommendations, contributions to knowledge, limitations of the study and suggestions for further research.

5.1 Summary

The study examined the effectiveness of advocacy (namely E-advocacy, celebrity advocacy, non-profit advocacy) in the promotion and protection of women's rights in Lagos and Ogun states Nigeria between the period of 1999 and 2015. The study's primary objective was to investigate which type of advocacy works and which one does not in terms of examining women's rights in relationship to Civil and Political rights (CPR) and Economic, Cultural and Social rights (ECOSOC). Chapter one dealt with the background to the study, statement of the problem, research questions, objectives of the study, Significance of the study, hypotheses, scope of the study, organisation of the study and the definition of concepts as used in the study. Chapter two provided the theoretical framework and a critical appraisal of relevant literature on advocacy and various types of women's rights. The study embarked on clarification of key concepts (advocacy and women's rights) used in the study and the debate/academic controversy over the concepts. The study thematically reviewed literature focused on advocacy and women's rights. The review of literature on advocacy revealed that there is no universal definition of the term. Individuals, activists, organizations, states and institutions define it based on context, purpose and the intervention required. The study showed that advocacy and its intersection with women's rights and social issue could be interpreted as an emerging or evolving area of research in the global South hence most of the literatures reviewed in relation to specific advocacy tools, such as celebrity advocacy and non-profit advocacy, relied on information from the developed world and adapted for this local context. The study further evaluated the effectiveness of various types of advocacy.

With respect to the concept of women's rights, from review of extant literature, the debates on women's rights have remained unresolved as relativist-scholars such as Oyewunmi Oyeronke

(1997) and Ifi Amadueme (1987) continued to argue against a universal definition of rights and women's rights specifically. Also, the review of literature on the subject of women's rights was examined from pre-colonial, colonial to post-colonial era. Specifically, the study examined the scholarly debates on the nature of women's civil and political rights, as well as economic, cultural and social rights of women during these three epochs of Nigeria's history. Most of literature supported the argument that women's rights were respected, promoted and protected in the pre-colonial Yoruba society that dominated Lagos and Ogun States (which are the selected area for the study). However, the advent of colonial rule and western intervention in this society disrupted and diminished the role of women. While most literatures have made these claims, they, however, did not account for why the status of women's rights in post-colonial Nigeria in these states has been low decades after the end of colonialism.

Furthermore, the study adopted feminist theory as a theoretical approach to the study and acknowledged the varying feminist standpoints: liberal, Marxist, radical, African, and their limitations. The study chose to apply feminism as a broad spectrum of assumption that focused on the rights of women regardless of which rights-- civil, political, economic, cultural and social. This choice was made against the background of the intersectionality that exist between the various feminist strands and the numerous questions on women's rights. For instance, a woman's civil and political rights, within the context of what is described as 'developing country' and Nigeria in particular, cannot be independent of economic power to set up campaign office, run her campaign and rallies, buy her party's nomination form and other political conditions required for election. The chapter also focused on advocacy and specific women's rights in Lagos and Ogun States which were the selected states from the six states in the Southwest. It examined the history, nature, and trends of advocacy in the selected states and investigated the individual, state and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and celebrity efforts in addressing women's rights. The chapter ended by identifying the lacuna in the literatures and provided some contributions as a way of addressing those gaps.

Chapter three addressed the research methods which included research design, the population of the study, sampling frame and sampling technique, sample size, method of data collection, method of data analysis, reliability and validity instrument and some ethical considerations for the study. It employed survey research design; particularly, the cross-sectional survey design was

adopted because the study was descriptive, exploratory and explanatory in nature. The study was therefore a triangulation.

Chapter four dwelt on data presentation, analysis, and research findings. The hypothesis formulated were tested using logistic regression, cross tabulation, and chi-square. Qualitative data gathered from interviews and Focus Group Discussions were transcribed and subjected to thematic analysis and the narrative techniques were employed where necessary. The result revealed that the four advocacy tools selected for the study were vitally important when creatively engaged, but they could be useful in the promotion of women's rights but not necessarily protection of those rights. As revealed in the empirical evidence based on distributed copies of the questionnaire, Focus Group Discussion (FDG) and qualitative data through thematic analysis of interviews with key informants, each of the advocacy tools was useful and effective in its own way for highlighting the violation of women's rights and their promotion, but a lot would need to be done beyond highlighting these issues, as efforts are seriously needed in putting the right legal and enforcement mechanisms in place to enforce/ protect these rights. The study further revealed that most respondents and key informants considered e-advocacy as the most viable tool for promoting women's rights, although it can be limited by the issues around access, availability and affordability. Also, the need to intensify the use of social media more than any other tools in the advocacy category has been acknowledged in the study.

5.2 Conclusion

The study set out to examine the effectiveness of selected advocacy in the promotion and protection of women's rights in Lagos and Ogun States. The evaluation or assessment criteria were drawn from recurrent themes in literature and the concept of women's rights was assessed based on indicators from international legal framework, specifically the ICCPR and ICECSOC. The findings of the study revealed that each of the advocacy tools has its own merits when creatively engaged for women's cause. These types of advocacy- E-advocacy, celebrity, policy and Non-profit advocacy- proved useful in the promotion of women's rights and have been helpful in raising the profile of women-centered NGOs and activists, but limited in the protection or enforcement of women's rights. This is because enforcement requires deeper commitment of the state, empowerment of democratic institutions such as the judiciary and the executive arm of

government to enforce compliance, and the domestication of international legal frameworks on women's rights.

5.3: Recommendations

Drawing from the findings of the study, the advocacy tools examined in this research guaranteed more promotion than protection of women's rights in Lagos and Ogun States. This study has raised the following recommendations on how best to advance the goals of promotion and protection of women's rights. From the foregoing discussion in the study, the need to deepen the understanding of women issues and to properly situate which issue is best addressed using which type of advocacy tools is recommended. Even though the burden of evidence points to e-advocacy tool as the most efficient, there is need to engage a multifaceted approach which include driving recognition, clarifying definition, expanding understanding and creating multiple solutions to specific problems. This is because it is not enough to talk about an issue online, who talk about an issue online also matter. When a prominent personality uses his or her Twitter handle, Instagram page, Facebook or other social media platforms to talk about an issue, it can easily go viral compared to when an unknown individual does same. Hence, the need to be multidimensional and integrated in addressing women's issues. However, while all the advocacy tools examined in this study have helped to promote women's issues, they have not proved effective in protecting women's rights because protection entails a deeper process than promotion. Promotion leads to awakening but social change requires more than consciousness of social issues but multifaceted action to change it. It is in view of this that this study makes the recommendations that there is need to address three specific categories of stakeholders: activist, non-governmental organization and the state. Generally, there are four multi-faceted actions required to promote and protect women's rights and these include driving recognition, clarifying definition, expanding understanding and creating multiple solutions to specific problems.

First, recognition. There must be continuous enlightenment and social awareness campaign about the issue of women's rights until it is seen as a major human rights problem. It is when the violation of women's rights is recognized as a major human rights' problem that the need for enforcement becomes eminent. So, it is imperative to create recognition for the women issues as inseparable from issues of human rights through awareness raising, sensitization, collaboration with the seven sectors critical to moulding mind and society namely: media (both old and new

media), government at all levels, economic (Private sector) creative (artist, movie, the entire entertainment industry), religious bodies, family, and other stakeholders involved with the projects on women's rights.

Secondly, definition. There is lack of proper definition of the issue of women's right. What is known as women's right is still synonymous with angry bitter women who cannot find husbands, neurotic outcry of the maladjusted women, men hating, angry bitter women who cannot keep their homes together. This misconception has made many to either distance themselves from women's advocacy while others have made themselves antagonist to the project as a western attempt to corrupt our African heritage. Arguably, this was the reason the Gender Equality Bill was rejected by the Senate. To drive definition, there is need for activists, researchers and other stakeholders to clearly define and situate the question of women's rights within the reality of women experience in Nigeria. The challenge of definition may be trans-generational as different generations of women aspire for different kinds of rights. Women in the 1980s were concerned about economic and political rights, but one can argue that women of 1990s till date are concerned about economic and political rights, and other rights such as sexual and reproductive rights. Hence, new definitions must take into consideration the generational gap and difference in the definition of what constitute women's rights.

Thirdly, comprehension. There is lack of proper comprehension of the interconnectedness of women's issue with other social problems. For instance, it is difficult to alleviate maternal health problems unless there is an understanding of how such are linked with education, economic status, religion, culture, access, availability and affordability. Understanding the intersectionality that exists between and among the various forms of rights is necessary if advocacy will be effective. For instance, it is not enough for women to have rights to contest for election if the existing cultural belief presupposes that women belong in the domestic sphere. Also, it is not enough for women to be enfranchised if existing socio-economic realities make them vulnerable to politicians that explore their economic realities to get vote. Hence, the understanding of how integrated the rights are underscore the advancement of advocacy on women's rights.

Also, there is need to create multiple solution to specific problem. There is no one-size-fits-all solution to issues on women's rights. Hence, stakeholders must think creatively and distinctly as they seek to promote and protect the rights of women. For instance, the study proposes the need

to combine all of the advocacy tools identified in this work with other advocacy tools such as literary arts and entertainment. The impact of the literary , arts and entertainment advocacy cannot be overemphasized.

As stakeholder in projects addressing the rights of women, NGOs have a lot of work to do. The following recommendations will help Non-Governmental Organizations involved in women's rights advocacy.

First, embrace flexibility in the changing space of advocacy beginning with reclaiming space and place (position) in the virtual world: the place and space of advocacy is constantly shifting, and actors engaged in projects on women's rights need to be flexible to engage in advocacy wherever that space may be. Today's advocacy is now largely online, and stakeholders need to flow with the changing space, place and time.

Second, release the ownership of women's cause to the public: there is a need to drive public support for issues concerning women to the extent that the public will support women's rights by all means, even financially. In other parts of the world, people donate to women's issues such as sexual and reproductive rights of women through organizations such as the Planned Parenthood because people are conscious of this issue and it plays a critical role in defining who governs them. The people of any country are the key to any change because they have their votes as their power which they can use for or against any politician or government. It is important to release the ownership of women's cause from regularly known stakeholders to the ordinary citizens. This is because NGOs and development agencies have been regarded by some as agents of imperialism and anti-government. But when the people are the owners of advocacy on women's issues, it can become an inseparable issue from other issues that attract attention during elections. Also, when you add the voice of the ordinary citizens to that of other stakeholders, it amplifies the voice for change even louder and makes it irresistible to the politicians and the state. This forces them to recognize these rights and drive implementation of policies and law to enforce them.

Third, reclaim the "F" word in Africa and Nigeria in particular: Feminism is a word that is difficult to define because each feminist defines it differently even though women remain the central focus of each definition. The term African feminism may appear a contradictory term in the mind of lots of people and the reason is simply because many people and groups see feminism as a western idea that aims to corrupt the African traditional institutions and culture.

The perception and sometimes argument of feminism as “Un-African” often come from people who either have not studied African history properly or those who like to live in denial of it in order to preserve patriarchy and the oppression and subjugation of women by all means. No doubt feminism comes with a lot of negative baggage but there is nothing wrong with the idea that informs the word. Like every word that its use becomes popular and its definition is ever expanding, there is a tendency for those who see extremism with the use and expression of the word as a call to fight back. Feminism may come with some expressions that are not traditional and that does not make it a bad word. Feminism is not alien to Africa. Finally, the state in Nigeria has a lot to do. Nigeria has a national gender policy which encourages every component of the federation to domesticate it at its administrative level. Some states have variants of the policy but the reality of experience of women in Nigeria is a paradox to what the policy entails. Hence, there is a need to make gender a national priority agenda and not a campaign promise. Specifically,

- (i) It is important to reform existing laws and harmonize them to meet international legal framework as a way of replicating best practices.
- (ii) The country needs to domesticate international legal framework that the country is signatory to so that they can be used in Nigerian courts and made justiciable.
- (iii) Relevant agencies that focus on women should be equipped with tools, resources, technology and training required to enforce laws on the rights of women in all their ramifications.

5.4: Contributions to Knowledge

This study makes significant contributions to knowledge and practice on advocacy as it relates to women’s rights and by extension other human rights or social cause in the following ways.

- (i) The study contributes to an evolving area of study that examines the link between advocacy tools and promotion and protection of women’s rights in Nigeria and by extension Africa.
- (ii) It contributes to research on advocacy evaluation and monitoring.
- (iii) The study makes contribution to knowledge and practice of advocacy, particularly what works and does not in women’s rights advocacy in Lagos and Ogun States and by extension Nigeria. Hence, the findings of the study is useful to Non-Governmental

Organization (NGOs), activists' groups on women's rights, policy makers, human rights' activists, development agencies with focus on women's rights (such as UN Women) to chart new in-road in the promotion and protection of women's rights.

- (iv) The finding of this study provides a digital map on the digital footprint of residents of Lagos and Ogun States specifically on the online platform they use most in their advocacy on women's rights. This can help women centred NGOs in Lagos and Ogun to know the platform to engaged with when planning their cyber activism on any women's rights issue
- (v) The study emphasizes the need to amplify women's voice, expand their space and empower their choices in all spheres of human endeavour by ensuring that women's rights are not theoretical but a reality.
- (vi) This study adds to a growing corpus of empirical, field-based research on women, and provides useful materials for researchers who might be interested in comparative studies
- (vii) Develop mechanism or frameworks to reposition current advocacy efforts in Nigeria to achieve desired objective.
- (viii) This study contributes to the global aspiration toward addressing the gender issues which constitute *Goal 5* of the United Nations' *Sustainable Development* Goals which is to achieve *gender* equality and empower all women and girls.

5. 5 Limitations of the Study

The study is limited to Ogun and Lagos States in the South West, geopolitical zone in Nigeria. This means that the findings of the study may not be applicable to other geopolitical zones. However, this does not diminish or discredit the study as the work can serve as a model for further studies in the subject area in the other geopolitical zones of the country. Also, the study provides a template for examining the effectiveness of advocacy mechanism within any context.

5. 6 Suggestions for Further Study

Studies that investigate the intersection of advocacy and women's rights are very few hence the field is a green field for researchers willing and curious to examine what works and does not in dealing with this critical human rights issues peculiar to women. In addition to proffer solutions to any issues about women, there is the urgent need to dismantle the core social structures that engender women's oppression and marginalization and enforce legislation and people-centered

social policies that emphasize equality justice, equity and fairness. As such, the study suggests the following as areas for further expanded study:

- (i) Examine gender digital divide and its implications for E-advocacy and women's rights advancement. Also, scholars have yet to examine the efficacy of advocacy work on women's right. A variety of potential approaches could be pursued, such as looking at the impact of e-advocacy on policy or attitudinal change towards "women" (Saxton, Niyirora, Guo, and Waters, 2015).
- (ii) Intersection of advocacy, Women's rights and Development.
- (iii) The role of E-advocacy in driving empathy for women's cause.
- (iv) Implication of the NGOs' Regulation Bill on women-centered NGOs in Nigeria
- (v) Advocacy, Auditing and Strategizing for social change
- (vi) Evaluating Gendermainstreaming in Nigeria and Gender planning, Budgeting and Implementation.
- (vii) Advocacy, Auditing and Strategizing for social change
- (viii) Monitoring and Measuring Advocacy and Social Change in Nigeria
- (ix) Celebrity Feminism and women's rights advocacy in Nigeria
- (x) Celebrity advocacy, social cause and social change
- (xi) Evaluating the impact of Women's Non Governmental Organization in women's rights movement

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APPENDIX 1



College of Leadership development Studies
Department of Political Science & International Relations
Covenant University

Ota-Ogun State

Dear Respondent

This questionnaire is designed to evaluate **Advocacy and Women's rights in Lagos and Ogun state Nigeria**. The research is undertaken in partial fulfilment of the requirement for the award of Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D.) in International Relations. Kindly complete this questionnaire as honest as you can. All information will be treated with utmost confidentiality. Your cooperation will be highly appreciated

Yours faithfully

Rosemary .O. Popoola

(A) Bio Data

1. Gender: (a) Male (b) Female
2. Marital status: (a) Single (b) Married (c) divorced (d) widowed/widower (e) others specify.....
3. Age: (a) 18- 28 (b) 29-39 (c) 40- 50 (d) 51 and above
4. Educational qualification: (a) SSCE (b) B.Sc. and its equivalent (c) Postgraduate (M,Sc, Ph.D (d) Other professional qualification specify.....
5. Working status: (a) Employed (b) not employed (c) Housewife (d) self-employed.(e) employer
6. Where do you reside (a)Lagos state (b) Ogun state

(B) E-advocacy (Electronic Advocacy the use of information and communication technology for social cause in this case women's rights)

7. What E-advocacy tools are you familiar with? (a)Social media.(facebook,twitter,Instagram) (b) email, (c) blog (d) web site (e) Other
8. Which of the E-advocacy do you engage with in promoting women's rights? (a) Social media.(facebook,twitter,Instagram) (b)) email, (c) blog (d) web site (e) not involve
9. Which of the forms of E-advocacy listed above do you consider most effective in the promotion of women's rights (a)Social media(facebook,twitter,Instagram) (b)) email, blogs and feedback through(website) (c) Digital(video add, youtube,) (d) all of the above (e) other.....
10. The use of electronic advocacy tool such as Facebook, Instagram, e.t.c help in reducing the incidence of women's rights violation(a) Agree (b)Strongly Agree (c) undecided (d) disagree (e) strongly disagree
11. The use of advocacy of electronic advocacy help in highlighting incidence of women's rights violation? (a) Agree (b)Strongly Agree (c) undecided (d) disagree (e) strongly disagree

12. How effective are hash-tag (#) in the promoting women's rights? a) Highly effective (b) effective (c) undecided (d) ineffective (e) Highly ineffective
13. Non-profit organization should use more of e-advocacy tool (a) Agree (b) Strongly Agree (c) undecided (d) disagree (e) strongly disagree
14. How often do you use your social media platform to advance women's rights issues? (a) always (b) sometimes (c) once in a while (d) never use it
15. What specific women's issue do you often talk about on social media? a) women's civil and political rights (women's rights to elective and appointive position) (b) economic rights (equal pay rights, inheritance, discrimination, equality) (c) social rights (housing, water and sanitation, healthcare) (d) cultural rights (female genital mutilation, rape, violence) (e) all of the above

(C) Policy Advocacy

16. Are you aware of any policy that protects women's rights in your state? (a) Yes (b) no
17. How do you assess the viability of social policy on women's rights in your state? (a) very effective (b) effective (c) ineffective (d) highly ineffective
18. The laws protecting women's rights in my state are (a) very effective (b) effective (c) ineffective (d) highly ineffective
19. Have you heard of the National Gender Policy in Nigeria (a) yes (b) No
20. The government of my state have laws/policies that promotes women's right (a) yes (b) no (c) indeterminate
21. Policy/Laws in my state are gender sensitive (a) Agree (b) Strongly Agree (c) undecided (d) disagree (e) strongly disagree
22. There is need for more law protecting women in my state (a) Agree (b) Strongly Agree (c) undecided (d) disagree (e) strongly disagree
23. Law and policies in state are discriminatory in some ways against women (a) Agree (b) Strongly Agree (c) undecided (d) disagree (e) strongly disagree

(D) Non-Governmental Organization(NGOs) Advocacy

24. Are you aware of any NGOs that promote women's rights in your state (a) Yes (b) no

25. How many NGOs do you know that support women's rights in your state (a) one NGO (b) Two NGOs (c) Three NGOs (d) Four NGOs and above
26. What kind of women's rights do they promote? (a) women's civil and political rights (women's rights to elective and appointive position) (b) economic rights (equal pay rights, inheritance, discrimination, equality)(c) social rights(housing, water and sanitation, healthcare) (d) cultural rights(female genital mutilation, rape, violence (d) all of the above
27. I support financially any NGOs that support women's rights (a) Agree (b)Strongly Agree (c) undecided (d) disagree (e) strongly disagree
28. Do you know anyone who financially supports any NGOs (a) yes (b) no
29. I support (follow, like or share content) online any NGO that is promoting women's rights? (a) Agree (b)Strongly Agree (c) undecided (d) disagree (e) strongly disagree
30. NGOs are doing enough to promote women's rights (a) Agree (b)Strongly Agree (c) undecided (d) disagree (e) strongly disagree
31. Government in my state is doing enough to promote women's rights (a) Agree (b)Strongly Agree (c) undecided (d) disagree (e) strongly disagree
32. What is your perception of NGOs in your locality (a)organization genuinely engage in women's rights(b) organization that pretend to be involved in women's rights (c) money making venture (d) indifferent
33. Many NGOs promoting and protecting women's rights are needed in my state(a) Agree (b)Strongly Agree (c) undecided (d) disagree (e) strongly disagree
34. NGO's in Nigeria need to be regulated/ control (a) Agree (b)Strongly Agree (c) undecided (d) disagree (e) strongly disagree
35. Do you believe in women's rights (a) Yes (b) no
- (E) Celebrity Advocacy** (the use of stars/celebrity or celebrity activism to bring awareness about a social cause in this case women's rights)
36. Do you know any celebrity speaking out on women's rights(a) yes (b) no
37. Mention two or more that you know
(i)(ii).....
.....

Please answer the question in the table below using the following key. A-Agree, D-Disagree, U-Undecided, SA-Strongly Agree, SD-Strongly disagree

		SA	A	UD	D	SD
34.	The collaboration between celebrities and non-profit organization benefit the celebrity					
35	Celebrities get involved in women's right issues to boost their own image					
36	By using celebrity Non-Profit Organization can project widely their position on women's rights					
37	Smaller, lesser known Non-Profit Organization will benefit from celebrity partnering with them in promoting women's rights.					
38	Celebrity should support non-profit organization more often in promoting women's rights					
39	I feel more involved with an organization when celebrity support it					
40	I support an organization more easily when I associate it with a celebrity partnership					
41	Because a celebrity ask for it, I'm likely to be involved with an organization that supports women's rights					
42	I have more trust in celebrity that has been identifying with an organization for years than a celebrity that just started its support					
43	The commitment of celebrity is more sincere when celebrity engaged in a long term partnership with NGOs rather than short term.					

(F) Women's Civil and Political rights (women's rights to elective and appointive position)

		SA	A	UD	D	SD
44.	There are enough women in my State house of Assembly					
45.	There are few women in my State Executive council					
46.	Funding is a major challenge for women in politics					
47.	Women without godfathers hardly make it in politics					
48.	Women are marginalized in the grassroots (LGA AND LCDA) of my					

	state					
49.	The violent nature of politics scare many women away from politics					
50.	Party politics favour women in my state					
51.	Politics is primarily a men's game					
52.	Women are well represented in the executive council of my political party					
53.	The governments of my state need to appoint more women in the decision making and leadership positions.					
54.	There are more male than female councillors and chairperson in my state					
55.	Culture and religion affect women's participation in politics in my state					

(G) Economic rights (equal pay rights, inheritance)

		SA	A	UD	D	SD
56.	rights of women(to work, equal pay, inheritance) is protected in my state					
57.	Women are still highly discriminated against based on their gender in most work space in my state					
58.	There are more women than men in poverty in my state					
59.	Most organization policy (in term of promotion, appointment, privileges) towards working women is good in my state					
60.	Men are paid better than women in most work place					
61.	The management/board of most work place is skewed in favour of men					
62.	Women suffer from sexual harassment, unfair treatment in most work space					
63.	There is unequal pay gap between men and women in my state					
64.	Women have more access to loan than men in my state					
65.	Bank and Microfinance policy favour men than women					

66.	Men are more financially empowered than women in my state					
67.	Inheritance practice in my state favour more women than men					
68.	Economic policies in term of lending policies by financial institution toward women in my state is fair					

(H) Social rights (Housing, Water and Sanitation, Electricity)

		SA	A	UD	D	SD
69.	Social rights of women in my state is well protected					
70.	Women in my state have access to basic social amenities like housing, water and sanitation, electricity					
71.	Basic infrastructure in my state is sensitive to women needs					
72.	Housing policy is discriminatory towards single, widowed and divorced women in my state					
73.	Landlord in my state easily rent out Accommodation to female tenant					
74.	Women have greater responsibility for getting water for household in my state					
75.	Women's hours of productivity is consume by the time they use is fetching water for their household					
76.	Women have more need for water and sanitation than men					
77.	Health care provision in my state is Gender sensitive					
78.	Maternal health facilities in my state is adequate					
79.	Women experience forced eviction from their home and market more than men in my state					
80.	Housing policy is hostile towards single, widowed and divorced women in my state					
81.	There are more women in school than men in my state					
82.	There are many adult education classes in my state					
83.	Government provide more fund for girl education in my state					

(I) Cultural rights (female genital mutilation, rape, violence)

		SA	A	UD	D	SD
84.	Cultural norm in my state protect women's rights					
85.	Gender based violence is prevalent in my state					
86.	Female Genital mutilation is rampant in my state					
87.	There are laws protecting women from sexual based violence					
88.	Stigmatization is a major reason why women don't report sexual based violence					
89.	There are limited law protecting female victim of various forms of abuse					
90.	The court and the police are not well equipped to handle violation of women's rights in my state					
91.	Some family still prefer to have more sons than daughters					
92.	Culture still expect some women to stay in their marriage no matter the negative experience she encounter					
93.	A woman that marry more than once is not often respected					
94.	Culturally a man can marry more than once and he will still be respected					

Thank you for completing this questionnaire.

APPENDIX 2: Interview Question for Cyber Experts

1. How safe is the cyberspace for women today given the increase in the rate of violence against women online?

2. Given the lack of institutional capacity and the underdeveloped technological capacity of most institutions in Nigeria, particularly the law enforcement agents, how can violence against women online be curbed?
3. Who protect the rights of women online? In other words, who is the internet police for women's rights online given the increasing cases of cyberbullying, cyberstalking and body shaming of women online?
4. The evolution of technology, its proliferation evident among other by the presence of smart phones, social media sites, such as Facebook, LinkedIn, Google Plus, Tumblr, Instagram and Twitter offer twin benefit (benefits and burden) how do we balance the "blessing and curses"?
5. What are the digital tools available for women and stakeholders in women's rights advocacy to further advance the frontiers on women's rights issues?
6. I know there are security and privacy tool online but how adequate are they?
7. E-advocacy is considered to be limited given the high level of illiteracy, lack of internet skills, issues around access and affordability of data. As an expert, how can we overcome these challenges?
8. So in the European Union, there is a new law aiming to rewrite tax rules for technology companies, so as to increase governments' tax from the likes of Google, Facebook and Amazon; as an expert and looking to the future, do you foresee such possibility in Nigeria and Africa in general and is that likely to exacerbate the existing digital poverty and what are its implication for NGOs and social causes that engage technology?
9. What are the limitations of E-advocacy?
10. As an expert in cyberspace and ICT, what are the challenges you encounter in your advocacy?
11. What are the issues that need to be taken more seriously with regard to cyber space and women's rights?
12. The issue of alleged Federal Government's massive surveillance on citizen online is gaining momentum, what is your response to that?

APPENDIX 3: Interview Question for Digital Experts

1. Your organization is advocating for the need to mainstream gender into ICT/data policy in order to bridge the gender digital divide, what progress have you made on that?
2. How equipped are NGOs to maximize the benefits of modern technology for advocacy?
3. E-advocacy is considered to be limited given the high level of illiteracy, lack of internet skills, issues around access and affordability of data. As a digital rights advocate, how can we overcome these challenges?

4. Given the lack of institutional capacity and the underdeveloped technological capacity of most institutions in Nigeria, particularly the law enforcement agents, how can violence against women online be curbed?
5. As an advocate for digital rights, what are the basic technological tools necessary for NGOs to be effective in E-advocacy?
6. So in the European Union, there is a new law aiming to rewrite tax rules for technology companies, so as to increase governments' tax from the likes of Google, Facebook and Amazon; as an advocate and looking to the future, do you foresee such possibility in Nigeria and Africa in general and is that likely to exacerbate the existing digital poverty and what are its implication for NGOs and social causes that engage technology
7. What are the limitations of E-advocacy?
8. As a digital rights advocate, what are the challenges you encounter in your advocacy

APPENDIX 4: Interview Question for Celebrity



College of Leadership development Studies
Department of Political Science & International Relations
Covenant University

Ota -Ogun State

Dear Respondent,

These questions are designed to evaluate Advocacy and Women's rights in Lagos and Ogun State Nigeria from 1999-2015. The research is undertaken in partial fulfillment of requirement for the award of Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D.) in International Relations. Here are the questions.

1. What is advocacy to you?
2. What advocacy tools do you engage?
3. What aspect of women's rights do you advocate for and why?
4. Are your advocacy tools getting the desired result?
5. What are the challenges you face as a celebrity advocating for women's rights issues?
6. What is the level of your commitment toward NGOs with whom you are involved?
7. As someone who has venture into politics, what is your perspective on women's civil and political rights? Particularly in elective and appointive position.
8. From years of following your activism I understand you are passionate about social justice social inclusion, gender equality and equity amongst others. Can you kindly comment on the status of the following women's rights in Ogun and Lagos State
 - Women's Civil and Political rights (women's rights to elective and appointive position)
 - Women's Economic rights (equal pay rights, inheritance, access to loan and credit facilities)
 - Women's Social rights (Housing, water and sanitation, healthcare)
 - Women's Cultural rights (female genital mutilation, rape, gender based violence)

Also, kindly comment on the following kind of advocacy and which you think should be given priority

- Electronic Advocacy
- Non-Profit Advocacy
- Policy Advocacy
- Celebrity Advocacy

9. From academic literature and studies that focus on celebrity advocacy the fundamental questions has been about authenticity or genuineness of celebrity, how do you respond to this?
8. Who else could I talk to for this project?

Thank you for your response and the time you commit to answering this Question

Yours faithfully,

Rosemary O. Popoola.

APPENDIX 5: Interview Question for Founder/Activist of Women focused Non-Profit Organization



1. What is advocacy to your organization?
2. What advocacy tools do you engage?
3. What is the goal of your advocacy effort?
4. Are your advocacy tools getting the desired result?
5. What challenges does your organization face in carrying out your advocacy efforts
6. What aspect of women's right issue do you focus on?
7. Is advocacy efforts increasing or decreasing the rate of women's right violation in Nigeria?
8. What are the limitations of current advocacy effort used in the country particularly Ogun and Lagos States?

9. Kindly comment on the status of the following women's rights in Ogun and Lagos State
 - Women's civil and political rights (women's rights to elective and appointive position)
 - Economic rights (equal pay rights, inheritance, access to loan and credit facilities)
 - Social rights (Housing, water and sanitation, healthcare)
 - Cultural rights (female genital mutilation, rape, gender based violence)
10. Also, kindly comment on the following kind of advocacy and which you think should be given priority
 - Electronic Advocacy
 - Non-Profit Advocacy
 - Policy Advocacy
 - Celebrity Advocacy

Thank you for your response and the time you commit to answering these questions.